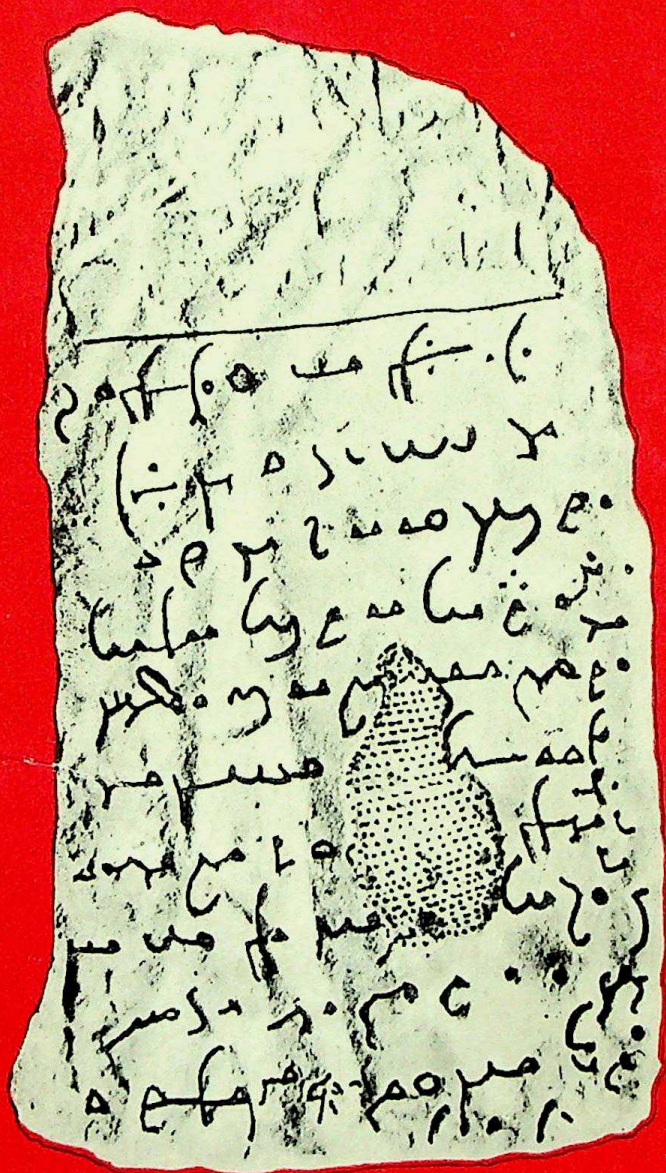


CENTRAL AND SOUTH ASIAN DOCUMENTS ON THE OLD ŚAKA ERA

B. N. MUKHERJEE



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TO
DR. DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR
THE CELEBRATED INDIAN EPIGRAPHIST
AS A TOKEN OF ADMIRATION
FOR HIS
PROFOUND SCHOLARSHIP

TO
DR. DINESH CHANDRA SINGH
THE CHIEF, INDIAN EVIDENCE
AS A FORM OF ADAPTATION
FOR THE
PROPOSED ACT

PREFACE

THE problem of determining the number and the initial year or years of the era or eras of pre-Kanishka origin used in the Kharoshthī and Bactrian inscriptions in Central and South Asia has engaged my attention for some time. This monograph embodies the results of my investigations into this problem.

The text of each chapter of this volume is followed by notes, which incorporate detailed notices of original sources and secondary works. Moreover, the appendices contain bibliographies of Kharoshthī and Bactrian inscriptions relevant to our study. Hence no need has been felt to print a separate bibliography at the end of the book.

In spelling of proper names I have tried to follow, with a few necessary exceptions, conventional forms. For example, the name of the son of the Kushāṇa king Kujula is written as V'ima Kadphises, and not as V'ima Kadaphisa. The letter *san* has been transcribed as *sh*. The sound signified by *san* is known to have been expressed by the letter *sh* in Indian sources. Diacritical marks have been used, wherever found necessary, in spelling modern proper names, including geographical. The term *India* denotes, unless otherwise indicated, the Indian subcontinent comprising the territories of the Indian Republic, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

In course of my research I have used different libraries and museums. Here special mention may be made of the National Library, Calcutta, and the libraries of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, the British Museum, London, the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and the Royal Asiatic Society, London. Miss Nelson of the Royal Asiatic Society, Mr. S. N. Dey of the Sanskrit College library, and Messrs. S. Chaudhuri, D. P. Gupta, R. Chatterjee and D.

Dutta of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, ungrudgingly supplied all the books I required.

In course of my research I have received valuable advices and suggestions from eminent Indologists like Dr. R. G. Basak, Prof. S. K. Saraswati, Prof. A. L. Basham and Dr. D. W. MacDowall and also from Prof. H. W. Bailey, a great authority on Iranian studies. Translations of relevant passages from Arabic inscriptions, discussed in this monograph, have been done by Mr. A. Khallaque, Dr. A. D. H. Bivar of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and Dr. K. K. Das Gupta of the Calcutta University discussed with me various problems related to the subject concerned. Dr. G. Fussman of Paris, France, and Dr. K. W. Dobbins of the University of Sydney, Australia, have kindly supplied certain relevant data. I am grateful to all these scholars, but for whose help and guidance it would have been impossible for me to collect data from widely diffused sources and to make an attempt to write this monograph.

The manuscript has been carefully typed by Mr. S. Sen. The index has been prepared by Dr. D. N. Das. Mr. D. Roy has designed the jacket. He has also arranged the plates, photographs for which had been kindly prepared by Mr. A. Sinha. I am indebted to these friends of mine and also to the owners of different collections, objects from which are illustrated in plates I to VIII (see Description of Plates).

Mr. S. Pandye of Messrs. Bharat Bharati, Varanasi, has very kindly taken up the task of publishing this monograph. Mr. B. Mukherjea has seen the book through the press. The proofs have been corrected by him. The members of the staff of the Temple Press, who have been entrusted with the supervision of the printing of this volume, tried their best to print it as nicely as possible. The workers of the New Prima Press have printed the jacket and the plates. Mr. N. Dey has rendered assistance in various other ways. I am grateful to each of them for taking personal care in course of printing.

In spite of our best efforts, a few printing mistakes have crept in (see the Corrigenda). For these I crave indulgence of readers.

Calcutta
October, 1973

B. N. MUKHERJEE

“(Sa?)ka 1 (x*)100 (+*) 20 (+*) 20 (+*) 20 (+*) 20 (+*)
10 (+*) 1 maharaja(bhrata) (Maṇigula)sa putrasa Jiho-
nikasa Chukhsasa Kshatrapasa”.

Taxila inscription
of the year 191.

“Kuteba yauma'l Ju'ma'te bi thalathate a'sharata
Halauna min Jamādi'l woola sanata (ithna?) wa
ar'bai'n wa Me'ātain.”

“Samvat (39*)32 Kārtti(ka)-māsa-bahulatithau dvi-
(tīyā)yām va di 2 atra diva(se) . . .”.

Tochi record no. A.

“. . . Samvat (39*)38 Bhādra(pada-māsa-śuklapakshe
sapta)myām śu di 7 atra diva(se) . . .”.

“. . . X^bONO X : ^ : B MOYO O^bOI

Tochi record no. B.

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CENTRAL AND SOUTH ASIAN
DOCUMENTS ON THE OLD ŚAKA ERA

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

MANY of the Kharoshthī inscriptions so far discovered in the Indian or Indo-Pak subcontinent contain dates.¹ Several of them are easily attributed to the era started in the reign of the Kushāṇa ruler Kanishka I.² Scholars are, however, not unanimous about the reckoning followed in other dated Kharoshthī epigraphs. Some of the Indologists want to ascribe all these records to one single system of dating,³ even though they do not have the same opinion about its initial year.⁴ There are also theories suggesting the existence of more than one era other than the one which began during the period of Kanishka I.⁵ The nomenclature of the era or eras is also a problem. Names like *Yavana*⁶ or *Indo-Greek*, *Parthian*,⁷ *Old Śaka*,⁸ *Yüeh-chih*,⁹ *Vikrama*,¹⁰ *Azes*,¹¹ *Drangian*,¹² etc., have been tagged to different reckonings suggested so far.

Though the relevant materials at our disposal are meagre, there is no gainsaying the importance of the problem. The chronology of the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent and its borderland during the Śaka-Pahlava age depends on determining properly the number of eras used in the relevant Kharoshthī inscriptions, and on fixing at least approximately the initial year or years of such a reckoning or reckonings. Periodic review of the problem is therefore a desideratum for a correct evaluation of the history of

the zone and period.¹³ This necessity seems to have been further enhanced by the archaeological materials discovered in Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan in recent decades (Chapter III). These seem to throw new light on the problem concerned. Unfortunately all these data as well as other relevant information have not yet been fully utilised in one single writing. An attempt will be made in the following pages to fulfil this necessity.

NOTES

1. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. LXXXII-LXXXIII.
2. *Ibid.*, p. LXXXIII. There is, however, a great controversy about fixing the initial year of the Kanishka Era in terms of the Christian Era. Scholars are now mainly divided into three groups, suggesting A.D. 78, 128 and 144 respectively as the initial year of the reckoning started presumably with the accession of Kanishka I to the Kushāṇa throne. Some scholars want to place the date as late as in C. A.D. 278. (In this connection see H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition), pp. 465f. and the relevant articles published in A. L. Basham (editor), *Papers on the Date of Kanishka*).
3. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. XC; *The "Scythian" Period*, p. 50; *AIU*, pp. 124f; etc.
4. See above n. 3.
5. *CHI*, vol. I, pp. 570-571; *ASSIPH*, p. 189; *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 1970, vol. VII, pp. 23f; etc.
6. It is sometimes considered that an era was started by the Indo-Greek ruler Menander (A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 144; see also R. M. Smith, *JAOS*, 1958, p. 178; A. D. H. Bivar, *BSOAS*, 1970, p. 14; etc.). K. W. Dobbins gives Eucratides the credit of instituting the Yavana Era (*Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 1970, vol. VII, pp. 31-32).

7. E. J. Rapson, *CHI*, vol. I, p. 570; S. Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, 1947, vol. XX, pp. 111f; *India Antiqua*, p. 197.
8. S. Konow, *CII*, vol. I, pt. II, p. XCI. See also W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), pp. 494-502.
9. J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, p. 50.
10. E. J. Rapson, *CHI*, vol. I, p. 571; *ASSIPH*, p. 184; etc.
11. J. H. Marshall, *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 973-86; J. H. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 257; E. J. Rapson, *CHI*, vol. I, p. 571; etc.
12. D. C. Sircar, *AIU*, pp. 124-125; A. Simonetta, *East and West*, 1958, vol. IX, p. 170; etc.
13. For a summary of different theories see *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 3f.

CHAPTER II

SOUTH ASIAN DOCUMENTS

A

ONE of the dated Kharoshthī epigraphs was found long ago either at Shāhbāzgarhī or Takht-i-Bāhī, both situated near Mardan in the Yusufzai territory in the north-western part of the Indian or Indo-Pak subcontinent.¹ It is known to scholars as the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription.² This record, inscribed on a slab of stone, perpetuates a religious gift on the first day of the month of Vaiśākha in the year 26 of *Maharaja Guduvhara* (and) in the year 103 (*Maharayasa Guduvharasa vash(e*)* 20 (+*) 4 (+*) 1 (+*) 1 *sa(m)ba(tśarae tī)śatimae* 1 (x*) 100 (+*) 1 (+*) 1 (+*) 1 *Veśakhasa masasa divase (pra)tham(e)* (di 1 . . .) . . .).³ On the correct assessment of these dates in terms of the Christian Era depends the accurate dating of Guduvhara, who is identified with the Indo-Parthian ruler Gondophares I.⁴

E. J. Rapson pointed out that the symbol of Gondophares (I) was found struck on some coins of Orodes II (57-37/36 B.C.).⁵ A. Cunningham thought that the same mark could be noticed on two silver pieces of Artabanus (III) (A.D. 12-c. 38 or 40).⁶ However, Rapson was not sure about the accuracy of Cunningham's observation,⁷ and this greatly impaired the value of the testimony of the last group of coins. Nevertheless,

there is a piece of evidence which connects the coinage of Artabanus III with that of Gondophares I. There is a close similarity between, if not identity of, a reverse type of Artabanus III, displaying a male figure sitting on horseback to left and having in front of him Tyche holding a palm-branch in her upraised right hand and a spear in her left hand,⁸ and an obverse type of Gondophares I with similar features.⁹

Since we know of traces of influence of the Imperial Parthian coinage on the issues of the members of the group of Orthagnes, including Gondophares I himself,¹⁰ and not *vice versa*, it may be reasonably held that the coin-type in question had its prototype in the reverse device of Artabanus III. This type of Artabanus appears only on his coins dated in the year 338 (of the Seleucid Era¹¹), i.e., A.D. 27/28. Hence it seems that a part of Gondophares I's rule must be placed in or after A.D. 27/28. And since there is no reason to ascribe an unusually long reign to Gondophares I, his rule may be ascribed to the first half of the 1st century A.D.¹²

The only known era of the Indian subcontinent, of which the year 103, one of the dates of Gondophares I's Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, can be placed in the first half of the 1st century A.D. is the so-called Vikrama Era of 58 B.C. Thus the numismatic testimonies strongly support the traditional dating of the epigraph in question to the so-called Vikrama Era,¹³ and clinches the issues in favour of that theory unless we believe—and there is no reason to do so—in the existence of some other era of Northern India having its epoch in the 1st century B.C. So with considerable confidence

the year 103 (current) of the Takht-i-Bāhī record can be placed in A.D. 45/46.¹⁴ The year 26 of Guduvhara (=Gondophares I), also referred to in the same inscription, may mean the 26th year of his rule. We are perhaps justified, in the present state of our knowledge, in not referring this date to some other reckoning, particularly when we do not know of any era which would fit it.¹⁵ The year 1 of the period, alluded to by the year 26, may be taken to denote the initial year of the independent reign of Gondophares I as a king, or that of his career as a junior joint ruler.¹⁶

If these arguments are correct, Gondophares I may be considered to have ruled from A.D. 20/21 (=year 1) to at least 45/46 (=year 26). Since, as it has been demonstrated by F. Kielhorn, the era concerned was from the beginning connected with the Kārttikādi year (i.e., the year commencing generally in October-November),¹⁷ the first day of the month of Vaiśākha of the year 103 (current) (of the reckoning of 58 B.C.) should be placed in April of A.D. 46.

B

The acceptance of the theory of attributing the year 103 to the era of 58 B.C., however, does not necessarily lend support to the assumption that all dates in the Kharoshthī records of the north-western region of the Indian subcontinent before the reign of Kanishka I should be referred to one single system of reckoning.¹⁸ In fact, there is evidence of the use of more than one era in the zone and period in question.

A hoard comprising jewellery and silver vessels was discovered beneath the floor of a room in house no. 2D in the Scytho-Parthian city of Sirkap.¹⁹ It has been very correctly pointed out that this hoard, like most of the other treasures found in the buildings nearby, was buried at the time of invasion of that city by the Kushāṇas.²⁰

An *askos* was found in this hoard. It bears an inscription, dated in the year 191 and referring to Jihonika, the Kshatrapa of Chukhsa.²¹ If this *askos* was interred at the time of the Kushāṇa invasion of Sirkap (Taxila), the year 191 or at least a part of it should be dated before that incident.

R. B. Whitehead has rightly observed that the discovery of a great number of coins of Kujula Kadphises in Taxila indicates his authority over that area.²² In fact, "Zeus with a sceptre" device on a group of Kujula's coins²³ can be considered, following G. K. Jenkins' line of reasoning,²⁴ as having been copied from a coin-type of the Parthian (or Scytho-Parthian) mint in Taxila. It should also be noted that Chi-pin, which the *Hou Han-shu* described as having been "destroyed and possessed by Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh"²⁵ or Kujula Kadphises,²⁶ might well have included Taxila.²⁷

Kujula's conquest of Taxila obviously marked the end of the Indo-Parthian rule in that locality. According to the *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion* by Philostratus, Phraotes was the king of Taxila when Apollonius visited that city.²⁸ As we have noted elsewhere, Apollonius started his journey from Seleucia to India after three years and ten months had elapsed from the date of the recovery of Seleucia (and the whole of the

Parthian empire) by Vardanes (I), which, however, was not effected at least before the month of Panemos of the year 353, i.e., June-July of A.D. 42.²⁹ And since the journey of Apollonius from Seleucia to India must have lasted for at least a month or two, he could have met Phraotes in Taxila only in or after June or July of A.D. 46.

Phraotes may well have been a Parthian name.³⁰ This Parthian king had Taxila under him in 'and/or sometime after June or July, A.D. 46. Hence, Taxila could not have been permanently annexed to the kingdom of the Kushāṇas, the successors of the Parthians or Indo-Parthians in North-Western India, before A.D. 46.

Kujula, however, began to reign much earlier than that year. We have shown elsewhere that he conquered Kao-fu or the Kabul region from An-hsi or the Arsacid empire by c. 1 B.C.³¹ It is apparent from the account of the *Hou Han-shu* that Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh (or Kujula Kadphises) attacked An-hsi only after he had captured four Yüeh-chih yabgus other than that of Kuei-shuang and had founded the Kuei-shuang (= Kushāṇa) kingdom.³² Hence his career as a ruler with sufficient maturity in age should have begun at least some time earlier than c. 1 B.C. The required date may have been 5 B.C., if not still earlier.

According to the *Hou Han-shu*, "Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh died at the age of more than eighty years and his son Yen-kao-chen succeeded him as a king."³³ This statement indicates that Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh or Kujula Kadphises ceased to reign shortly after his eightieth year. And since he was probably already

sufficiently mature in age in c. 5 B.C., it would be difficult to conceive of his rule even after sixty years later than that year, or after c. A.D. 55. Hence his conquest of the Taxila area should be dated in or before c. A.D. 55.

It appears that the Kushāṇa conquest of Taxila (or the Scytho-Parthian city of Sirkap) took place between c. June or July of A.D. 46 and sometime of c. A.D. 55. Thus, if the year 191 of the inscription of Jihonika is to be placed before the advent of the Kushāṇas in Taxila, it should be assigned to either c. A.D. 55 or any earlier year.

Kshatrapa Jihonika, son of Maṇigula, seems to have been the same as Kshatrapa Jihonia or Jihunia (Zeionises), son of Maṇigula, of a great number of silver and copper coins.³⁴ Not only Jihonika of the inscription and Jihonia or Jihunia of the coin-legends held the same administrative designation and their names can be philologically correlated, the name of the father of one was apparently identical with that of the father of the other. Hence, in the present state of our knowledge, Jihonika should be identified with Jihonia or Jihunia (Zeionises).³⁵

As Kshatrapa Jihunia was always a subordinate ruler in parts of the north-western region of the Indian subcontinent,³⁶ the metrology and the general features of his coinage must have confirmed to the contemporary imperial coinage of that area. Jihunia, as noted above, minted silver and copper coins. Several of his silver pieces, however, contain debased metal.³⁷ Since the royal Scytho-Parthian silver coinage of the region concerned became debased from the time of king Azes II,³⁸ these satrapal species, showing signs of de-

basement, should be dated after the commencement of his reign. Good silver coins of Jihunia³⁹ may, therefore, be placed either in the very beginning of the independent reign of Azes II or rather in the period of Azilises, who ruled before as well as with Azes II.⁴⁰ The successor of Azes II in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent was Gondophares I,⁴¹ who struck, *inter alia*, billon coins.⁴² Since Jihunia did not mint billon, his satrapal rule in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent should be placed before it came under the control of Gondophares I or at least before the latter struck there his billon pieces. Hence Jihunia served Azes II and probably also Azilises, but perhaps not Gondophares I.⁴³ This indicates the feasibility of ascribing the inscription of Kshatrapa Jihonika (= Kshatrapa Jihunia) to a date falling several years before Vaiśākha 3 of the year 103 of the Takht-i-Bāhī record of Gondophares I, which seems to have fallen in April of A.D. 46.⁴⁴

Further data can be furnished in this regard. We have shown above that Apollonius, whose journey to India is described in the *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion*, visited Taxila in or after June or July of A.D. 46. It appears from the context that the visit took place probably not long after, if not in, June or July, of A.D. 46. So when this treatise stated that the Indian money consisted of orichalcum and black brass,⁴⁵ it probably referred to the conditions prevailing in c. A.D. 46. D. W. MacDowall points out that the black brass probably meant billon coins as used by the family of Gondophares I.⁴⁶ So Jihunia, who did not mint billon, should be dated before c. A.D. 46. This means that the

year 191 of the Taxila epigraph of Jihonika = Jihunia should be dated before c. A.D. 46.

Jihunia, as we have noted above, probably served under Azilises as well as Azes II. We have shown elsewhere that Azilises might have begun his rule between c. 32-31 B.C. and c. 19-18 B.C.⁴⁷ So Jihunia probably did not become a Kshatrpa before c. 32-31 B.C. This indicates that the year 191 of Taxila record of Jihonika (= Jihunia) did not correspond to any year prior to c. 32-31 B.C.

Thus the year 191 may not be placed earlier than c. 32 B.C. and later than c. A.D. 55 or rather c. A.D. 46, if not a still earlier year. Hence the first year of the era alluded to in the epigraph of Jihonika should not be dated before c. 223 B.C. and after c. 136 or rather 145 B.C.

C

It seems that the reckoning used in the Taxila epigraph of the year 191 could not have been the same as that of 58 B.C. in which the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103 was dated.⁴⁸ There were at least two systems of dating prevalent for some time, if not during the whole, of the period of Scytho-Parthian rule in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent. We should now examine a few other records to ascertain whether any other era was in vogue in the region and age.

The most important of the relevant documents is a Taxila silver scroll inscription dated in *sa* 1(*x**) 100

(+*) 20 (+*) 10 (+*) 4 (+*) 1 (+*) 1 *ayasa Ashaḍasa masasa divase* 10 (+*) 4 (+*) 1.⁴⁹ This epigraph states that on this specified date relics of the lord were established by Urasaka, of the Intavhria boys, the Bactrian, the resident of the town of Noacha "in his own Boddhisattva chapel in the Dharmarājikā compound of Takshaśilā, for bestowal of health on the Great King, the King of Kings, the Son of Heaven, the Khushāṇa . . ."⁵⁰ This evidence seems to imply that Urasaka, a Bactrian, had close connection with Takshaśilā and that he deposited the relics in the Bodhisattva shrine after the advent of the Imperial Kushāṇas in the Taxila area.⁵¹ And since the Kushāṇa conquest of the Taxila region took place between c. June or July of A.D. 46 and sometime of c. A.D. 55, the *sa(mvat)* or year 136, in which the silver scroll inscription is dated, should not be placed before A.D. 46.

J. Marshall suggested that the section of the scroll, which contains the date, should be translated as "in the year 136 of Azes, on the 15th of the month of Āshāḍha".⁵² Thus, according to Marshall, this inscription indicates the existence of an era called after Azes.⁵³

S. Konow once interpreted the phrase *ayasa Ashaḍasa masasa* as standing for *ādyasya Āshāḍhasya māsasya*, meaning "of the first month Āshāḍha", and thought that in the year 136 there were two months called Āshāḍha.⁵⁴ This theory was proved wrong by the discovery of the Kālāwān copper-plate inscription, dated in *saṁvatśaraye* 1 (x*) 100 (+*) 20 (+*) 10 (+*) 4 *ajasa Śravaṇasa masasa divase treviṣe* 20 (+*) 1 (+*) 1 (+*) 1,⁵⁵ (i.e., in the year 134 of Aja, on the 23rd day of the month of Śrāvaṇa). Here the occurrence of the

word *Aja* can be convincingly explained only by assuming it as a proper name. It can be philologically related to the names **Aza* (= *Aja*) and *Aya*, inflected formes of which occur on coins of Azes I and II.⁵⁶ This betrays the weakness of the theory of S. Konow. In fact, he himself gave up his earlier hypothesis and accepted the view of J. Marshall that the terms *Aya* and *Aja* stand for the name of a ruler called Azes.⁵⁷ S. Konow was, however, of the opinion that the name of Azes was associated with the reckoning in question not for describing him as its founder, but only for distinguishing it from another era known in the area concerned.⁵⁸

The expressions *sa 136 Ayasa* and *saṃvatśaraye 134 Ajasa* may mean either (in) the year 136 (or 134) of (the era of) *Aya* (or *Aja*), or (in) the year 136 (or 134) during the reign of *Aya* (or *Aja*). The second alternative interpretation will be *prima facie* acceptable if only the year 136 is referred to an era used by Azes, since it is difficult to believe, unless we have positive evidence, that he ruled for 136 years. There may, however, be serious objections against this interpretation, which implies that in the year 136 the Taxila area was under a ruler called Azes and also under an imperial Kushāṇa monarch. Certain coin-types [(a) "mounted king : standing Zeus holding a sceptre" and (b) "mounted king: standing Zeus Nikephoros"], which are attributed to Taxila mint,⁵⁹ are known to have been used by, among others, Azes I (types a and b), Azes II (types a and b), Gondophares I (who succeeded Azes II in at least some areas of the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent) (type a), Gondophares I and Sasan (types a and b), Sasan alone (type a), and

Abdagases (types a and b).⁶⁰ The Kushāṇa conquest of Taxila could have been achieved by Kujula Kadphises, who also used "standing Zeus holding a sceptre" coin-device,⁶¹ not only after the rule of these persons but also after that of Phraotes, who, according to *Ta es ton Tyanea Apollonion*, was ruling there in June or July, A.D. 46 (see above). So neither of the two Scytho-Parthian kings called Azes could have been the master of the Taxila area, *de jure* or *de facto*, simultaneously with the rule of a Kushāṇa monarch in the same locality.⁶²

The inference forces us to interpret the expressions *sa 136 Ayasa* and so also *Samvatśaraye 134 Ajasa* as referring to the year 136 (or 134) of a reckoning which was started during the reign of a king called Azes or was associated with his name some time after its epoch.⁶³ The year 136 should not be dated, as we have noted above, earlier than c. A.D. 46. So the year one of the era in question could not have begun before (136 - A.D. 46 =) c. 90 B.C. The combined evidence of the coins and the *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion*, referred to above, places the periods of rule of Azes I, his co-ruler and successor Azilises, the latter's co-ruler and successor Azes II, his successor Gondophares I, his co-ruler and successor Sasan, and Abdagases in the Taxila area before c. June or July of A.D. 46. Though Sasan as well as Abdagases held Taxila only for a short period,⁶⁴ the length of reign of each of the four other successive kings could well have been normal. Hence the initial years of the rule of Azes I should be placed about a century before c. A.D. 46. This suggests that Azes I could have begun his rule

from a date falling in or near the year one of the well-known era of 58 B.C. Hence this era of 58 B.C might well have been the same as the reckoning started or associated with a king called Azes, who should be identified with the first Scytho-Parthian sovereign of that name.

The Shahdaur inscription of Śivarakshita refers to . . . *Ayasa sam*⁶⁵ If the numerals following *sam* can be read as 20 (+*) 10 or 20 (?),⁶⁶ this epigraph can be assigned to the reign of Azes I. This evidence may then suggest that the reckoning associated with Azes I began with his regnal years. Counting of such years continued even after the end of his rule and developed into an era.

Though it is not possible to read the date of the Shahdaur inscription with absolute confidence, the above line of reasoning surely supports the hypothesis of J. Marshall that the year 136 of the Taxila silver scroll inscription and 134 of the Kālawān copper-plate inscription should be referred to the era of 58 B.C., identifiable with the Azes Era.

D

It appears from the evidence at our disposal that the authors of the dated Kharoshthi inscriptions of the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent and its borderlands used two eras other than the reckoning of Kanishka (I). One of these was the Azes Era of 58 B.C. and the other was a reckoning which began not earlier

than c. 223 B.C. and not later than c. 136 or rather c. 145 B.C.⁶⁷

Some of these records, including those discussed above, refer to Scytho-Parthian rulers, whose relative chronological positions are known. Such knowledge helps us in determining the era to which a dated epigraph should be attributed. For an example, we can draw attention of scholars to the Taxila copper-plate inscription dated in the year 78 of the Great King, Great Moga.⁶⁸ Moga has been identified with Maues,⁶⁹ who reigned in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent roughly about three, if not more, generations before Gondophares I (viz., the periods of Azes I, Azilises and Azes II).⁷⁰ Hence the year 78, which fell during the reign of Moga or Maues, should not be referred to the era alluded to by the year 103 of the Takht-i-Bāhī record of Gondophares I.⁷¹ It is more convenient, in the present state of our knowledge, to assign the year 78 to the earlier reckoning indicated by the inscription of Jihonika.

The Khalatse inscription of the year 187 refers to king *Uvima Kavphisa*,⁷² who has been convincingly identified with *V'ima Kadphises*.⁷³ If this epigraph is dated in the era of 58 B.C., we must admit that V'ima had been ruling in A.D. 129-130. But this seems improbable. For it is difficult to believe that V'ima reigned even in the 74-75th year after the latest possible date for the death of his father Kujula at the age of more than eighty years (see above Section B).

On the other hand, if the year 187 is referred to the era indicated by the inscription of the year 191, to be placed before Kujula's invasion of Taxila, then it

must be admitted that V'ima began to rule even before his father captured Taxila. There is nothing unlikely in such a hypothesis. For in the Kushāṇa empire the heir-apparent was sometimes associated with the rule of the reigning monarch.⁷⁴

The Panjtār stone inscription was found at Salīm-pūr, near Panjtār below the Mahaban range.⁷⁵ It perpetuated acts of merit in "the year 1 (x*) 100 (+*) 20 (+*) 1 (+*) 1, on the first day of Śrāvaṇa, in the reign of the Great King Gushaṇa".⁷⁶ Gushaṇa or Kushāṇa⁷⁷ must have been one of the imperial Kushāṇa monarchs. He could not have been a Kushāṇa personage earlier than Kujula Kadphises, who was the first Kushāṇa ruler to conquer a substantial part of the north-western region of the Indian subcontinent.⁷⁸ Kujula captured Taxila after the date of the inscription of Jihonika of the year 191 (see above Section B). If the years 191 and 122 are assigned to one and the same reckoning, Kujula should be considered to have been ruling 69 years before his conquest of Taxila. This is an unacceptable hypothesis, particularly when it was possible for Kujula to invade Taxila some time after the year 191 and to be alive for some years after this conquest. This argument holds good even if it is admitted that Kujula might have had a very long reign before his death at an age of more than eighty years.

It is, therefore, better to accept the suggestion that the Panjtār epigraph was dated in the era of 58 B.C.⁷⁹ In support of this theory we may point out that the forms of the letters of the Panjtār record, particularly those of *sa* (with its mouth slightly closed or fully open) and *da*, closely resemble those used in the Taxila

silver scroll inscription of the year 136 and the Takht-i-Bāhī epigraph of the year 103,⁸⁰ both of which are referred to the reckoning of 58 B.C.

E

Palaeography seems to be our main guide in determining the age of the other dated Kharoshthī inscriptions of the Scytho-Parthian period. The details of the features of the letters in the Manshera stone inscription of the year (?) sixty-eight (*aḍhashaṭṭhia varasha* (?)),⁸¹ the Fatehjang stone inscription of the year 68 and the Muchai stone epigraph of the year 81 can be compared very favourably with those in the Taxila copper-plate record of the year 78.⁸² So the dates of these inscriptions may be assigned to the reckoning used in the Taxila copper-plate.

The general appearance of forms of the letters of the Shahdaur stone inscription of king Damijada is not against the theory attributing it to the era alluded to by the year 78 of the time of Moga-Maues.⁸³ This hypothesis is supported by the proposed identification of the name *Dami*, appearing on “mounted king : goddess holding a wheel and a patera” coins of Maues, with Damijada.⁸⁴ However, the exact date of the inscription is not certain. S. Konow wanted to read it as *Shashṭihae* 20 20 20 and to interpret it as meaning sixty—60.⁸⁵ But what he considered as *sha* must be deciphered as *a*. Moreover, the figures which he thought as numerals could have been letters *dha*, *ko* or *spo* or

spa and *a*. These figures can at best be doubtfully read as 20 (+*) 20 (+*) 10.⁸⁶

It is also difficult to determine the age of the Maira well inscription.⁸⁷ The portion which is supposed to contain a date, may be read with reservation as *sata . . . sarin* 20 (+*) 20 (+*) (10) (+*) (4) (+*) 4.⁸⁸ One of the two (?) forms of *sa* used here reminds us of one of the few forms of that letter appearing in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103.⁸⁹ The form of the letter *ta* in the inscription in question recalls that of the same letter noticeable in the Jalalabad epigraph of Tiravharṇa of the year 83,⁹⁰ which, as we shall see, is ascribable to the era of 58 B.C. This suggests that the date of the Maira well inscription may be tentatively assigned to the era of 58 B.C.

The forms of the letters of the Kala Sang stone inscription of the year 100 (?),⁹¹ the Mount Banj stone epigraph of the year 102,⁹² the Saddo rock inscription of the year 104,⁹³ the Pājā stone inscription of the year 111,⁹⁴ the Kāldarra stone epigraph of the year 113 and the Mārguz marble slab inscription of the year x (+*) 1 (+*) 1 + (*1)⁹⁵ are favourably comparable with those of the Takht-i-Bāhī record of the year 103.⁹⁶ Hence like the year 103, the dates of all the other documents may be referred to the era of 58 B.C. It is difficult to determine the exact value of the x portion of the date of Mārguz record. However, if we are right in ascribing it to about the time of the inscription of the year 103, the figure in question may be one nearing 100 or slightly above 100. In fact, if the figure preceding 1 (+*) 1 (*+) 1 is taken as a part of the sign for 100,⁹⁷ the intended date may

be read as 100 (+*) 1 (+*) 1 (+*) 1. We must, however, admit that this figure may also be considered as a part of the numeral 4.

Ta, noticeable in the Jalalabad stone inscription of Tiravharna of the year 83, bears close resemblance to *ta* appearing in the Kāldarra record of the year 113.⁹⁸ Again, the form of *sa*, as engraved on the stone carrying Tiravharna's document, can be very favourably compared with that of the identical letter used in the Mount Banj epigraph of the year 102 and Khalatse inscription of the year 187.⁹⁹ Hence there might not have been very long interval between the dates of these records. This debars us from assigning the inscription of the year 83 to the era alluded to by the year 187, and tempts us to refer the year 83 to the era of 58 B.C., in which the other two epigraphs are dated.

A comparative study of the palaeographic features of the Peshawar Museum stone inscription of the year 168,¹⁰⁰ the Khalatse record of the year 187,¹⁰¹ and the Dewai stone inscription of the year 200,¹⁰² particularly of the forms of the letters *sa*, *ha*, *kha*, etc.,¹⁰³ dates them to same era. This means that the years 168 and 200 should be attributed to the reckoning alluded to by the year 187.

The year one of the era in which the year 187 is dated should not be placed, as we have noted above, before c. 223 and after c. 136 or rather 145 B.C. If we want to be more precise on this point, we shall have to study certain documents written in "Bactrian" language and in cursive Greek script. These have been found in Central and South Asia. These records will now engage our attention.

NOTES

1. *IA*, 1873, vol. II, p. 242; *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 57.
2. See above n. 1.
3. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 62.
4. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 230.
5. *CHI*, vol. I, p. 578.
6. *NC*, 1890, p. 119.
7. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 677.
8. *Coins of Parthia*, pl. XXV, nos. 5 and 6.
9. *CCGSK*, pl. XXII, no. 12; *NC*, 1890, pl. XIII, no. 2.

It is not certain whether the female figure holds a spear in her left hand and also whether she has in her right hand a palm-branch or a wreath. However, these are only minor variations and need not minimise the value of our suggestion (see also *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1962, vol. XXXVIII, pp. 239-241).

10. The Imperial Parthian Type of "king seated with a bow in his hand" (*Coins of Parthia*, pll. VIII f) was copied by Gondophares I himself and by several members of his group (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, pl. 4, p. 54).

11. *Coins of Parthia*, pl. XXV, nos. 5 and 6. W. Wroth wrongly assumed the first year of the era in which the Arsacid coins are dated as 312 B.C. According to his calculation, the year 338 should correspond to A.D. 26/27 (*ibid.*, pp. 148-149). R. H. McDowell has correctly shown that the epoch of the era concerned should be April, 311 B.C. (R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 148).

12. S. Konow tried to ascribe the year 103 to an Old Śaka Era of 84 B.C. and the year 26 to a reckoning started in 7-6 B.C., with the accession of Azes (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. XLIV and 58). The reckoning termed by Konow as the Old Śaka Era cannot be definitely proved to have started in 84 B.C. Again, there is no evidence in support of the historicity of any era having its initial year in 7-6 B.C. There was an Azes Era. But it is probably to be identified with the reckoning of 58 B.C. (Chapter II, section B) (*Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 702). S. Konow himself later realised the weakness of his theory and discarded it (*JIH*, 1933, vol. XII, p. 26).

There is no definite fact to support A. Simonetta's sugges-

tion that the year 103 should be referred to a Drangian Era with its initial year falling between 87 and 80 B.C. (*East and West*, 1958, vol. IX, p. 170).

K. P. Jayaswal assigned the year 103 to an earlier Śaka Era of 123 B.C. and the year 26 to "the era or the years officially used" by Gondophares (I). This makes the date of this record as 20 B.C. (*Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1930, vol. XVI, pp. 241-242). However, since such an earlier era probably did not have its first year later than 136 B.C., the theory of K. P. Jayaswal need not be accepted. We may add here that if the word (*śa*)ka can be read before the date of Jihonika's inscription (*JIH*, 1933, vol. XII, p. 3; *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pl. XVJ, no. d), the reckoning in question could have been known in his period as the Śaka Era (see Chapter IV, section A). In that case it should be called the Old Śaka Era. (For a different view, see *Acta Orientalia*, 1948, vol. XX, p. 115).

J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw has placed Gondophares (I) in the second half of the 1st century B.C. She does not believe in the historicity of the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*, which refers to the meeting of St. Thomas with Gūdnaphar, identifiable with king Gondophares (I), after the death of Jesus Christ, which would locate at least part of Gondophares I's reign in the 1st century A.D. She rejects the identification of Gondophares (I) with Phraotes, mentioned by Philostratus as a ruler of Taxila, whom she dates to c. 45 A.D. Again, she takes Abdagases of the house of Gondophares (I) as the successor on the throne of the latter and identifies him with Abdagaeses, mentioned by Tacitus (*Annals*, VI, 36) while relating events of A.D. 35. Since Abdagaeses had a grown-up son in A.D. 35, he was then an old man. This puts, according to Lohuizen-De Leeuw, the end of the reign of Gondophares (I) in about 10 B.C.

Lohuizen-De Leeuw further observes that the appearance of square *omicron* on coins of Gondophares (I) tends to place him not long after c. 40 B.C., since the fashion of using the square form of that letter, noticeable for the first time on the coins of Orodes II (57-37/36 B.C.), did not last long. Further, the assumption by Gondophares (I) of the title *autokrator*, found on coins of the Imperial Parthian monarchs of pre-Christian centuries, may point to his early date. Finally, she refers the year 103 to

an era of 129 B.C. Thus, according to her, Gondophares I was ruling in 26 B.C. (*The "Schithian" Period*, pp. 352-358).

These arguments, though apparently impressive, do not bear close scrutiny. There is no special reason to doubt the relevant evidence of the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* (*ASSIPH*, p. 143). Again, Phraotes ruled in Taxila in and/or after c. June or July of A.D. 46 (*ibid.*, p. 187), whereas the last known date of Gondophares (I), i.e., Vaiśākha I of the year 103, may be placed, if referred to the era of 58 B.C., in April of A.D. 46. Thus there is no apparent clash between the dates of these two kings. The only inference that can be drawn from the premises concerned is that at least in the Taxila region the rule of Gondophares (I) might have ended by sometime of June or July of A.D. 46. We are sceptical of the necessity of identifying Abdagaeses of the *Annals* of Tacitus with Abdagases of the house of Gondophares I. Tacitus never alludes to his Abdagaeses as an Indo-Parthian ruler. He is described only as one of the Parthian nobles.

In the Parthian series the square *omicron* appears not only on some of the coins of Orodes II, but also, among others, on some of the issues of Mithridates III (58/57-55 B.C.) (*Coins of Parthia*, pl. XIII, no. 3). The sporadic use of the square form of this letter can be noticed in records of still earlier periods (W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), p. 326). On the other hand, the same form occurs also on coins of the Kushāṇa ruler Kujula Kadphises, whose last year cannot be placed before A.D. 46 (see *ASSIPH*, p. 187; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVIII, no. 188). Hence the evidence of the square *omicron* does not necessarily place Gondophares I in the 1st century B.C.

The title *autokratoros* appears on several coins ascribable to Mithridates I (c. 171-138/137 B.C.), and on those probably of Sinatruces (76/75-70/69 B.C.) and again on some pieces attributed to Tiridates II (c. 30-25 B.C.) (*Coins of Parthia*, p. XXX). The sporadic appearance of this title on the Imperial Parthian coins does not preclude the possibility of its reappearance after another long interval on the issues of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares I, if the coins of Tiridates II remained in circulation in a territory once held by the Imperial Parthians and later annexed to the dominions of the Indo-Parthians. Such a possibility is indicated by the fact that Gondophares I counter-struck some coins

of Orodes II. It should be noted that the Indo-Greek king Theophilus also used the title in question (*PMC*, vol. I, pl. VIII, no. 632). We do not know his exact date. It is not impossible that his coinage influenced that of Gondophares I.

Thus the attempt to refer the year 103 of the Takht-i-Bāhī record to an era of 129 B.C. is not substantiated by any definite evidence.

13. The year 103 of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription is generally referred to the so-called Vikrama Era of 58 B.C. (*JRAS*, 1905, p. 231; 1906, pp. 706-711; *CHI*, vol. I, p. 576; *PHAI*, p. 452; *AIU*, p. 130; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 212; etc.).

14. We take the year 103, ascribable to the era of 58 B.C., as a current one, since there is no indication of its having been treated as a "past" year. Kielhorn's opinion that the years of the era of 58 B.C. were generally "expired" ones (*IA*, 1891, vol. XX, p. 398), is applicable to a much later period of that reckoning.

15. See above n. 12.

16. There is no necessity of following J. H. Marshall's alternative suggestion that there was an interval between the date of Gondophares I's becoming virtually an independent ruler and that of his assumption of imperial titles (*Taxila*, vol. I, p. 60).

17. *IA*, 1891, vol. XX, pp. 399 and 407; see also D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 258.

18. *SI*, pp. 124f.

19. *Taxila*, vol. I, pp. 155-156.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 67 and 156.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 156; *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 82.

22. *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 840.

23. *PMC*, vol. I, p. 181.

24. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 16-17 and 23.

25. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.

26. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāna Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāna Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), p. 93, f.n. 24.

27. According to the *Ch'ien Han-shu*, *Chi-pin* was bordered on the north and the north-west by the Ta Yüeh-chih kingdom including Ta-hsia and on the south-west by Wu-yi-shan-li, and was separate from Kao-fu. It appears from the same treatise that *Chi-pin* could be reached by a person travelling from the direction of China by crossing Hsüan-tu (*CHS*, ch. 96A; *JAI*,

1881, vol. X, pp. 34, 37, 38 and 41; compare *CHS*, ch. 96A, p. 10b with *ibid.*, ch. 96, p. 1 b).

M. A. Stein demonstrated that Hsüan-tu was situated along the Indus from below Darel to Mirabat "some eight miles above the side valley of Kanda belonging to the Swat" (M. A. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 8). In southern parts of Ta-hsia were Chitral and probably Kafirstan (*ASSIPH*, pp. 111-113, n. 20). Wu-yi-shan-li may be located in the Seistan area (*ibid.*, p. 93 and p. 135, n. 184). Kao-fu included the Kabul region (*ibid.*, p. 77).

These identifications suggest that Chi-pin of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* included ancient Suvāstu (Swat) and at least parts of Gandhāra and Arachosia. The name *Chi-pin*, Archaic *Kiād-pien*, Ancient *Kiäi-pien* and Middle Chinese *Kiei-pyin* <*Kā(t)s-pin (<* -en), seems to have been based on the word (**Kāspir*, which can be related to *Kāsmūr(a)* through the intermediary form **Kāsvīr(a)* (L. Petech, *Northern India According to the Shui-ching-chu*, p. 64; *Asia Major*, 1962, vol. IX, pt. II, p. 218; M. A. Stein, *Kalhana's Rājatarangīnī*, vol. II, p. 386; c.f. the forms *Kaspiraioi* and *Kaspeira* in *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 47 and 48). This suggests the inclusion of at least a part of ancient *Kāsmīra* in Chi-pin. The incorporation of these different regions in one unit indicates that Chi-pin of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* denoted the political (or an administrative) jurisdiction of a country which could be reached through Hsüan-tu and which had within its limits a portion of the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent.

The same can be said about Chi-pin of the *Hou Han-shu*. The 118th chapter of this treatise states that Chi-pin could be reached by crossing Hsüan-tu, and also indicates that a road extended, through Chi-pin, to Wu-yi-shan-li (*HHS*, ch. 118, p. 4; *TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VII, p. 175). The information furnished in the 118th chapter was presumably based on a report of Pan Yung prepared in c. A.D. 125 (*TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 168). So the limits of this Chi-pin might not have been exactly the same as the boundaries of Chi-pin annexed by Kujula Kadphises. Nevertheless, as there was probably no very great interval between the closing period of the reign of Kujula and the date of Pan Yung's source of information on Chi-pin, its main part, which apparently lay in the north-western part of the Indian sub-

continent, might have been in Chi-pin mentioned by Pan Yung and also in the territory of that name conquered by Kujula.

28. Philostratus, *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion*, II, 26.

29. *Ibid.*, I, 28; I, 39-40; II, If; *Coins of Parthia*, p. 153; R. H. McDowell, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149, 152-153 and 226; *ASSIPH*, p. 154, n. 264; N. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, p. 168.

30. *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 353 and 362; *Monthly Notice of the Asiatic Society*, 1966, March, p. 5; *JNSI*, 1968, vol. XXX, p. 190.

31. *ASSIPH*, pp. 107-108.

32. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9. In this connection see also B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy (Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), pp. 123-124.

33. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.

34. A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *The Coin-Types of the Śaka-Pahlava Kings of India*, p. 24; *CCGSK*, pl. XXXII, no. 11; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVI, no. 82; *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 82; *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 61; etc.

35. In this connection see below n. 44.

36. *ASSIPH*, pp. 173-174.

37. See above n. 33.

38. *JNSI*, 1960, vol. XXII, p. 69.

39. A few of the good silver coins of Zeionises are now in the Singhi collection of Calcutta. See also *CCGSK*, p. 110; *PMC*, vol. I, p. 157.

40. *ASSIPH*, p. 87.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 98 and 102.

42. *PMC*, vol. I, pp. 146f.

43. This inference modifies the theory of D. W. MacDowall, which (on the strength of the evidence of the pattern of the coin-denominations of Zeionises, the quality of the silver used by him, the employment by him of Kharoshthī letters as mint-control marks, the appearance of legible Kharoshthī and illegible Greek legends on his coins, etc.) dates him to the period of Azes II only (*Bhārati*, 1966-68, vol. X-XI, pp. 207-208).

44. If this inference is correct, D. C. Sircar should be considered to have committed a mistake when he ascribed the year 191 of Jihonika to the era of 58 B.C. and thereby distinguished him from Zeionises of coins (*SI*, vol. I (1st edition), p. 131, f.n. 3). We also cannot support J. Marshall who thought that Zeio-

nises (Jihonika) had served as a kshatrapa under Gondophares I (*Taxila*, vol. I, p. 61).

45. Philostratus, *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion*, II, 7.

46. *Bhārati*, 1966-68, vol. X-XI, p. 208.

47. *ASSIPH*, p. 91.

48. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 62.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

50. *Ibid.*

51. See also *CHI*, vol. I, p. 582.

52. *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 973-986; *Taxila*, vol. I, pp. 256, 48 and 53.

53. See above n. 52. The theory of Marshall was supported by E. J. Rapson (*CHI*, vol. I, pp. 581-582) and opposed by some scholars including J. F. Fleet (*JRAS*, 1914, pp. 955f). However, there is no reason to support J. F. Fleet's reading of the word *ayasa* as *viyasa* and his translation of the opening section of the epigraph concerned as "(in) the year 136, on the 15th day of the month of the second (intercalated) Āshāḍha" (*ibid.*). The evidence of the Kālawān copper-plate rejects such a translation (see below n. 57). For another hypothesis of Fleet, see below n. 62.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 73 and 77.

55. *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 259; *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 949f.

56. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XI, nos. 46f. The forms *Aya* and *Aja* can be compared with the doublets *Kuyula* and *Kujula*, both of which refer to the Kushāṇa ruler Kujula Kadphises.

57. S. Konow admitted that *Aya* of the record of the year 136 could not be considered to stand for *ādya* (meaning "first"), since there could not have been two months of the same name in the year 134 and again in the year 136. Such intercalated months would have been possible only if the year 134 was "current" and the year 136 was "expired". For this again we have no evidence. It is also not possible to derive the term *Aja* from the word *ārya* (*EI*, vol. XXI, p. 253; *JRAS*, 1932, p. 953; *JIH*, 1933, vol. XII, p. 26).

58. *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 255. S. Konow later suggested that the appearance of the name of Azes in the records of the years 134 and 136 should mean that he was actually reigning in those years (*India Antiqua*, p. 194; *Acta Orientalia*, 1948, vol. XX, p. 119).

59. *ASSIPH*, pp. 169-172 and 244.

60. *Ibid.*, *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XI, nos. 36 and 56; pl. XIII, nos. 320 and 323; pl. XV, nos. 19 and 20; pl. XV, nos. 61 and 64; *NC*, 1950, pp. 222-223.

61. *ASSIPH*, p. 227, n. 3.

62. These considerations do not allow us to accept one of the two alternative suggestions of J. F. Fleet (*JRAS*, 1914, p. 995) and also one of the theories of S. Konow (see above n. 58) that Azes (II) was ruling in the year 136. For identical reasons we cannot support the hypothesis of D. C. Sircar that the combined evidence of the records of the year 134 and 136 indicates the *de jure* reign of Azes II and *de facto* rule of the *Kushāṇas* (*AIU*, p. 131). It is interesting to note that though this hypothesis presupposes Azes II as a reigning monarch, D. C. Sircar himself is apparently not sure about it (*SI*, vol. I (2nd edition), pp. 131-132, f.n. 2. See also below n. 63).

63. H. C. Raychaudhuri wanted, on the analogy of the evidence of the Janibigha inscription dated in the year 83 of *atītarājya* of Lakshmaṇasena, to refer the year 136 to *atītarājya* of Azes. This interpretation attributes the year 136 to "a period when his reign was a thing of the past, though the reckoning was still associated with his name" (H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition, p. 454).

We, however, like to point out that the word *atītarājya* does not actually occur in the inscriptions of the years 134 and 136, even though the year 134 or 136 should be ascribed to a reckoning associated with a ruler called Azes who was not reigning in either of these years.

64. *ASSIPH*, pp. 244-246.

65. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 17.

66. See *ibid.*, pl. III, no. 2.

67. Thus there is no valid ground for the theories advocating that all known dates of the Kharoshthī records of the Scytho-Parthian period should be ascribed to one single system of reckoning (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. LXXXIIIf; *The "Scythian" Period*, p. 50; *SI*, vol. I (2nd edition), pp. 124f; etc.).

68. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 28.

69. *CHI*, vol. I, p. 570.

70. *ASSIPH*, pp. 167f and 199f.

71. This inference contradicts the theory of D. C. Sircar (*SI*, vol. I (2nd edition), p. 124) and S. Chattopadhyay (*Early*

History of North India (2nd edition), pp. 66-69) that the year 78 of the Taxila inscription referring to Moga should be assigned to the era of 58 B.C.

72. *Acta Orientalia*, 1948, vol. XX, pp. 117-119; *BSOAS*, 1949-50, vol. XIII, p. 397. The inscription can now be read correctly with the help of its photograph published by G. Tucci (*East and West*, 1958, vol. IX, p. 294, fig. 8).

The correct reading is *Sam* 1 (x*) 100 (+*) 20 (+*) 20 (+*) 20 (+*) 20 (+*) 4 (+*) 1 (+*) 1 (+*) 1 (+*) 1 *Maharajasa Uvima Kavphisasa*.

73. *BSOAS*, 1949-50, vol. XIII, p. 397.

74. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), p. 74.

75. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 67.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

77. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*), vol. I, pp. 4 and 29, n. 17.

78. *ASSIPH*, pp. 216f. and 249f.

79. *JASB*, 1893, vol. LXII, pt. I, p. 85; *JRAS*, 1903, p. 41.

80. Compare *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pl. XIII, no. 4 with *ibid.*, pl. XII, no. 1 and pl. XIV.

81. *Ibid.*, pl. IV, no. 2.

82. Compare *Ibid.*, pl. V, no. 1 with pl. IV, no. 1, pl. IV, no. 2 and pl. V, no. 2.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 14; pl. III, no. 1.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 14; A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 143; *ASSIPH*, p. 207, n. 22. This identification cannot, however, be regarded as certain (*ASSIPH*, p. 208, no. 22).

85. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 16.

86. *Ibid.*, pl. III, no. 1; see also K. W. Dobbins, *Epigraphy and Coins of the Śaka-Pahlava Period* (unpublished thesis), pp. 294-295.

87. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 11. See also A. K. Narain, *op. cit.*, p. 143. S. Konow attributed this inscription to the so-called Old Śaka Era and even tried to read *Moasa* in the inscription on slab no. c of the Mora well epigraph (*ibid.*, p. 12). But what he took as *mo* must be deciphered as *ksha* (*ibid.*, pl. II, no. c).

88. *Ibid.*, pl. II, no. B.

89. Compare the form of the first *sa* in line 1 of slab no. B of the Maira well inscription (*ibid.*, pl. II, no. B) with that of

the first *sa* in line 2 of the epigraph of the year 103 (*ibid.*, pl. XII, no. A).

90. Compare *ibid.*, pl. II, no. A, with *Acta Orientalia*, 1938, vol. XVI, pl. IV, and also with *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 1968, vol. XI, p. 31, nos. 1 and 2.

91. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 54; pl. XI, no. 1.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 57; pl. XI, no. 2.

93. *EI*, vol. XXI, pp. 25-29 and pl. facing p. 28.

94. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 65; pl. XIII, no. 1.

95. *Ibid.*, pl. XIII, no. 3. S. Konow read the date as 1 (×*)

100 (+*) 10 (+*) 4 (+*) 1 (+*) 1 (+*) 1 (*ibid.*, p. 67).

96. Paleographically the Kāldarra inscription of the year 113 can be favourably compared also with the Taxila record of the year 136 (*ibid.*, pl. XIV). Note the forms of the letters *da*, *ta* and *sa*.

97. Compare this figure with the sign for 100 appearing in the Takht-i-Bāhī record.

98. Compare *Acta Orientalia*, 1938, vol. XVI, pl. IV with *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pl. XIII, no. 2.

99. Compare *Acta Orientalia*, 1938, vol. XVI, pl. IV with *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pl. XI, no. 2 and pl. XV, no. 2. See also *Acta Orientalia*, 1938, vol. XVI, p. 235.

100. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pl. XV, no. 1.

101. *Ibid.*, pl. XV, no. 2.

102. *Ibid.*, pl. XV, no. 3.

103. See above nos. 100-102.

CHAPTER III

CENTRAL AND SOUTH ASIAN DOCUMENTS

A

SOVIET archaeologists have unearthed the remains of a Buddhist cave monastery at Kara Tepe in Old Termez.¹ It is considered to have been founded in the 2nd century A.D.²

Inscriptions on fragments of ceramic objects, found here, indicate that these were meant for the use by the monks belonging to the Mahsaṃghika (Mahāsāṃghika) order and to the Bahusutiya (Bahuśrutiya) school,³ originating from the same order of the Buddhist religion. But the Bactrian Graffiti on the wall of the corridors of cave no. II of this monastery betray Zoroastrian influence. Inscription no. 62 refers to the visit of Shirayo, a magus.⁴ Inscription no. 50 speaks of the visit of Lord King (Bago Khoadeo) Ormazdo to the cave.⁵ Inscription no. 45 states that "when Lord Oarauarano came here he said a prayer".⁶ The Lord King Oarauarano is also mentioned in four or five other graffiti (nos. 17, 26, 49 and 52 and also 43).⁷ The names *Ormazdo* (*Hormizd*) and *Oarauarano* or *Varaharan* (*Varahran*) appear in the list of Sasanian rulers. The fact that they offered prayer at a place visited by a magus indicate that the cave no. II of the monastery was converted into a Zoroastrian chapel.

As J. Hermatta has correctly pointed out, this type of conversion of non-Zoroastrian establishments

into Zoroastrian ones is indicated by the Naqsh-i-Rustam record of the Sasanian high priest Kartīr (Kartir K Z).⁸ It states that "the teaching of Ahriman and devas disappeared from the empire and was abandoned, and Jews and Buddhists and Brahmins and Nazaraeans, and Christians and Mugdugs and Manichaeans were annihilated within the empire and the idols were destroyed and the caves of the devas were devastated and transformed into the house and seat of the gods".⁹ The topographical position of Kara Tepe suggests that it was in Kushānshahr, as defined in the Naqsh-i-Rustam record of Shāpūr I, the draft of which was prepared in c. A.D. 262.¹⁰ According to this epigraph, Kushānshahr, which was a part of Shāpūr I's empire, stretched up to Swgd (Sogdiana), Sh'sh ('st'n) (Tashkent), etc.¹¹ Thus the Buddhist cave no. II at Kara Tepe was transformed into a Zoroastrian chapel after the extension of Sasanian rule to Transoxiana.

The Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Kartīr, indicating such a conversion, was drafted in or shortly after c. A.D. 276.¹² However, the religions establishment at Kara Tepe might have been wrested from the Buddhists sometime before that year by some anti-Buddhist Zoroastrians and not necessarily by Kartīr himself. The required date may be fixed in or before the year 60 or 61 of a middle Persian inscription found on the wall of cave no. II.¹³ If it is referred to the Sasanian Era of A.D. 205-206,¹⁴ and if the use of the era alludes to Sasanian and Zoroastrian influence, then the establishment might have become a Zoroastrian shrine in or by (A.D. 205-06 + 60 or 61 =) A.D.

265-66 or 266-67. The conversion could have taken place several years earlier if we consider the possibility of the activities of the Zoroastrian priests in the region concerned, which was a part of the Kushāṇa empire, immediately after its submission to the Sasanian monarch Ardashīr I.

Several Bactrian inscriptions from the same cave also contain dates. One of them (no. 35) begins with the word $X^{bo(v)}o$ or $X^{ba(?)o}$.¹⁵ As the word $X^{bo(v)}o$ and also the term X^{bao} mean "regnal year" or "era-year" (in the present and several other contexts),¹⁶ the figures following this should contain a date. The figure immediately after $X^{bo(v)}o$ (fig. 1)¹⁷ may be interpreted as a ligature combining Greek letters *iota* and *epsilon* (meaning 10 (+) 5) or *lambda* and *epsilon* [indicating 30 (+) 5], or *tau* and *epsilon* [suggesting 300 (+) 5], or *tau* and *lambda* [indicating 300 (+) 30], or *tau*, *lambda* and *epsilon* [meaning 300 (+) 30 (+) 5], or *upsilon* and *epsilon* [suggesting 400 (+) 5], or *upsilon* and *lambda* [indicating 400 (+) 30], or *upsilon*, *lambda* and *epsilon* [referring to 400 (+) 30 (+) 5], or *upsilon* and *mū* [suggesting 400 (+) 40], or *upsilon*, *mū* and *epsilon* [denoting 400 (+) 40 (+) 5].¹⁸ The rest of the inscription contains certain proper names including one which can be read as *Miro* (Mihiro).¹⁹ The graffito probably records the visit of certain persons to the cave on a certain date.

The epigraph no. 35 is found superinscribed on an inscription (no. 52),²⁰ which can be deciphered as follows :

L.1.] $KA\Delta O$ $BA\Gamma O$ $OA(PAYAP)ANO$ $XOA\Delta HO$
(ABO $CA\Delta O$ ΓABO $\Gamma A\Delta O$)[

L.2.] TA MA (Δ) O ZA (CTO)[²¹

This inscription can be translated as "when lord king Oarauarano, i.e. Varaharan (Varahran), came to the "Hundred Caves" then he said here a prayer."²² The Lord King Varaharan (Varahran) must be one of the Sasanian princes of that name. The earliest of them (Varahran I) served as Kushānshāh under King Hormizd I,²³ who ascended the throne in A.D. 272 or 273.²⁴ Varahran I himself became the king after Hormizd I's death in A.D. 273 or 274.²⁵ As Kara Tepe was in Kushānshahr, Varahran in question could have visited this place while he was the governor of that province.^{25a} In any case the inscription no. 52, referring to a Sasanian prince called Varahran, cannot be dated before A.D. 272.

It should also be remembered that the inscription no. 35 is superinscribed on a record (no. 52), belonging to a group of graffiti which covers the whole surface of a section of the wall in cave no. II.²⁶ It appears, as J. Harmatta has pointed out,²⁷ that the graffito no. 35 had to be inscribed on another graffito (no. 52) for want of space on the surface of the wall, which had already been covered with other inscriptions. This act of writing one inscription on another would have indeed been meaningless if enough space was still then left on the surface of the section of the wall concerned. So, it may be inferred that the inscription no. 35 should be dated after all other records belonging to the epigraphic complex (B-10) under discussion. If we now consider the fact that three graffiti (nos. 39, 54 and 55) of this group are dated in the year YE, i.e. 400 (+) 5, it will be difficult to place the inscription no. 35 before that date.²⁸

These considerations suggest that among the plausible readings of the date of the inscription no. 35, stated above, the acceptable ones are YE [i.e. 400 (+) 5], $Y\wedge$ [i.e. 400 (+) 30], $Y\wedge E$ [i.e. 400 (+) 30 (+) 5], YM [i.e. 400 (+) 40], and YME [i.e. 400 (+) 40 (+) 5]. Again, of these acceptable dates the most likely one is 400 (+) 40 (+) 5, since the figure indicating the date seems, on a close examination, to be a combination of *upsilon*, *mū* and *epsilon*. The year concerned should be placed, in the light of our above discussion, in or after A.D. 272.

The year 405, or 430 or 435, or 440, or rather 445 obviously refers to an era. And since, as noted above, the date of the inscription no. 35 cannot be placed before A.D. 272, the initial year of that era should not be placed before (405 or 430 or 435 or 440 or 445 minus A.D. 272 =) 133 B.C. or 158 B.C. or 163 B.C. or 168 or 173 B.C.

J. Harmatta wants to refer the date of the inscription no. 35 (which he reads variously as 30 (+) 5, 400 (+) 5, 400 (+) 30 (+) 5, etc.) to the so-called Old Śaka Era.²⁹ This hypothesis can be supported on various grounds, if the name "Old Śaka Era" is considered to denote the older of the two reckonings, of pre-Kushāṇa origin, used in Kharoshthī records found so far in the Indian subcontinent (Chapter II, section D).

The era in question is known to have been used in *inter alia* Kharoshthī records recovered from Buddhist establishments of the north-western parts of the Indian subcontinent and thereabouts. Some of these epigraphs are definitely datable to different periods falling before the first hundred years of the Kanishka Era.³⁰ In fact, the reckoning, which was started earlier

than the Azes Era as well as the Kanishka Era, was the oldest of the eras widely used in the dated Kharoshthī inscriptions.

This evidence indicates the use of this reckoning in the circle of Buddhist monks and worshippers in the north-western parts of the Indian subcontinent and its borderlands from a pre-Kushāṇa date. So it was not impossible for the Buddhist monks at the monastery of Kara Tepe, which was originally a Buddhist religious centre before its conversion into a Zoroastrian establishment in the 3rd century A.D., to use the era in question. They could have made it known to that locality.

All these data suggest the ascription of the year in question (405, or 430, or 435, or 440, or rather 445) to the oldest of the eras widely used in the dated Kharoshthī records. If such an inference is found acceptable, the earliest possible date for the beginning of the initial year of that reckoning can be fixed in c. 173 B.C.

B

The attribution of the date of the Kara Tepe inscription no. 35 to the oldest era employed in Kharoshthī inscriptions and also to a year falling in or after A.D. 272 suggests the continuation of the use of that reckoning in Kushānshahr even after the fall of the Kushāṇa empire by c. A.D. 262.³¹ This inference also implies the continuity of the era concerned during the Kushāṇa period.

In this connection we may refer to an inscription

on a stone slab found in temple A at Surkh-Kotal near Baghlan in North-Eastern Afghanistan (fig. 2).³² The inscription is either mostly obliterated or was never completed by the engraver.³³ The opening portion of this epigraph can be deciphered, following A. D. H. Bivar, as $X^bONO \approx O$ (E or θ) $M(AO) \dots$, and can be taken to mean "the year 275 (or 9), month ...".³⁴

Bivar observes that the Surkh-Kotal epigraph mentioning Nokonzoko and year 31 implies that there were two building periods at Surkh-Kotal, "the first was apparently in the time of Kanishka and the second in the year 31 of the Kanishka Era, which probably belongs to the reign of Huvishka."³⁵ The same scholar is of the opinion that the inscription referring to the year 275 or 279 is "unfinished",³⁶ and that this should date it "to the phase of building that was interrupted".³⁷

We like to point out that the inscription described by Bivar as "unfinished" cannot be proved to be so. The epigraph appears, at least from a published photograph,³⁸ to be a worn-out one and so it is difficult to ascertain whether it had been completed or left unfinished by the scribe.

We should also bear in mind that the epigraph mentioning the year 31 clearly indicates that the building concerned had already been dedicated as the Kanishka-Nikator Sanctuary prior to the restoration and additions made there by Nokonzoko and others in or shortly after the month of Nishan of the year 31 (apparently of the Kanishka Era).³⁹ Hence the original plan of construction must have been executed by the time of the dedication of the shrine. So, we need

not necessarily think that the building activities in the first period of construction were interrupted.

Any attempt to date the so-called unfinished inscription requires the acceptance of the fact that it has been discovered in the cella of temple A which was constructed and dedicated in the time of Kanishka I.⁴⁰ Hence it is possible that the so-called unfinished inscription was engraved after the beginning of his reign. And since the reckoning, now called the Kanishka Era, seems to have begun probably from the very epoch of his imperial rule,⁴¹ the document concerned may be placed in or after the first year of that system of counting.⁴² This hypothesis is supported by the feasibility of the simultaneous use of two eras—one of them official—in one and the same kingdom. For an example we can refer to the use of the Mālava Era in the Mandasor inscription composed during the reign of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I.⁴³ Though the Mandasor area was certainly within the empire of Kumāragupta I, and though the official Gupta Era was in vogue in different parts of his territory,⁴⁴ the author of the Mandasor record did not use that reckoning.

However, we must admit that we cannot prove that there is anything in the preserved portion of the so-called unfinished inscription itself⁴⁵ connecting it in any way with the temple. In fact, following the arguments of R. Curiel,⁴⁶ we may even guess that the inscribed slab was used for some purpose before it was requisitioned to be used as a building material in connection with the construction of the temple.⁴⁷ If this inference is correct, the so-called unfinished

inscription might have been engraved somewhere outside the site of temple A, and might not have any direct connection with the latter.

It may also be argued that the slab bearing the so-called unfinished inscription was used in temple A at the time of restoration of the monument in or shortly after the year 31 of the Kanishka Era. This means that the date of the so-called unfinished epigraph need not necessarily be placed before the year 31 of the Kanishka Era.⁴⁸

The year 275 or 279, the date of the so-called unfinished record, may thus be dated to a pre-Kanishka period, or to the reign of Kanishka I himself, or to the year 31 or $31 + x$ of the Kanishka Era.⁴⁹ Hence we cannot deny the possibility of the use of an era other than the Kanishka era in the Kushāṇa empire.

•The same observations may be applicable to the date of the tri-lingual record found engraved on a rock at Dasht-e Nawūr (in Afghanistan), if G. Fussman rightly thinks that this document, which contains inscriptions in Bactrian and Prakrit and also in an unknown language, refers to the year 279.^{49a} It must, however, be borne in mind that the exact contents of these inscriptions, one of which is in an unknown language and the other two are mutilated,^{49b} cannot be correctly determined (see Appendix II, n. 1).

We have already shown that the year one of the oldest of the eras widely used in the dated Kharoshthī records should not be placed after 136 B.C. or rather 145 B.C. and before 223 B.C.⁵⁰ or rather 173 B.C.⁵¹ The years 275 (or 279) and 279(?) can be ascribed to this reckoning, if the unfinished inscription and the Dasht-e

Nawūr document are dated after the year 1 of the Kanishka Era and if the latter system of counting is considered to have started in the last quarter of the 1st or sometime in the opening decades of the 2nd century A.D.⁵² This will suggest the continuity of the era concerned in the Kushāṇa empire even after the introduction of the Kanishka Era. However, as the year 1 of the Kanishka Era cannot be definitely fixed in terms of the Christian reckoning, we should not pursue this line of reasoning any further.

C

Nevertheless, the evidence of the Kara Tepe inscription no. 35, which implies the currency of a reckoning of pre-Kushāṇa origin in Kushānshahr even after the fall of the Imperial Kushāṇas, encourages us to study two other epigraphic records. These were found in the Tochi valley, west of Bannu in N.W.F.P. of Pakistan. These are now in the Peshawar Museum.⁵³

One of these records, which is numbered 49 in the Peshawar Museum and which we shall mention here as record no. A, consists of two inscriptions, one in Arabic and the other in Sanskrit.⁵⁴ The upper part of the slab is occupied by an Arabic inscription in Kufic characters, below which appears a Sanskrit inscription in Śāradā script⁵⁵ (figs. 3 and 4).

The Arabic inscription speaks of an order given by one Fayy ibn 'Ammār for constructing (i.e. excavating) a pond and states that this (i.e. the epigraph) "was written on Friday, when three and ten (*bi thalāthate*

a'shara) (i.e. thirteen) days had passed from the month of Jamāda'l awwal in the year? and forty and two hundred" (*Sanata? wa ar'bay'in wa me'atain*)⁵⁶ (i.e. in the year 240 + x). It is clear from the text that the Friday in question fell on the fourteenth day of the month of Jamāda I of the Hijra year 240 + x, after thirteen days of that month had already elapsed.⁵⁷ The word indicating the unit digit of the intended year is not clearly decipherable.⁵⁸ It has been read by M. H. Kuraishi as *thalātha* meaning "three".⁵⁹ But the form of the word concerned does not at all correspond to that of the term *thalātha*, which is undoubtedly used in expressing the number of days (13) elapsed in the month of Jamāda I. Moreover, since the fourteenth day of Jamāda I fell on a Friday only in 242 A.H. and not in any other year of the forties of the third century of the Hijra era, to which period the date concerned must be attributed, the intended reading of the word conveying the unit digit of the year should be taken as *ithna*, meaning "two". In fact, if *alif* is considered as misplaced in the word in question, having been inscribed in the middle instead of in the beginning of the word, it can be read as *ithna*. In any case, there is no doubt that the year concerned could have been only 242 A.H.⁶⁰ Friday, 14th of Jamāda I, 142 A.H., corresponded to Friday, 18th of September, A.D. 856.⁶¹

The Sanskrit inscription, inscribed below the Arabic inscription, is dated in the second *tithi* (as well as) day 2 of the dark (fortnight) of the month of *Kārtika* of the year (*samvat*) 32.⁶² Though the purpose of this inscription is not clear, as it is partly mutilated,⁶³ its location suggests that it perpetuates the same meri-

torious act which is mentioned in the Arabic epigraph in a language and script more easily understandable in the locality in question. So, the date of the Sanskrit record should have corresponded to the date mentioned in the Arabic inscription or at least should have fallen shortly after that. In fact, the year 32 can be referred to A.D. 856, if it is ascribed, as it has already been done,⁶⁴ to the Śāstra or Laukika Era.⁶⁵ It is well-known that this reckoning was in use in early mediaeval age in different areas of the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent, including Kāśmīra.⁶⁶ In writing the years of this era the figures for hundred were generally omitted.⁶⁷ The year (39) 32 of the Laukika Era commenced in March of A.D. 856⁶⁸ and so was in progress when the Arabic inscription was recorded in September, A.D. 856. In fact, 242 A.H., which began on May 10 of A.D. 856, could roughly correspond to the year (39) 32 of the Laukika Era, which started on *Chaitra śu di 1* falling on March 11, A.D. 856.⁶⁹

The second tithi of the dark fortnight of Kārttika of the year (39) 32 of the Laukika Era, the date of the Sanskrit epigraph, fell on Saturday, September 19, A.D. 856.⁷⁰ It seems to have been engraved on the day following the Friday (September 18, A.D. 856), mentioned in the Arabic inscription. So, both the documents may be dated to one and the same week of September of A.D. 856.

Another stone slab found at Khazana in the Tochi agency also deserves attention. This is numbered 15 in the collection of the Peshawar Museum,⁷¹ and we shall mention it as record no B. (fig. 5). It bears two dated inscriptions, one in Sanskrit language and Śāradā

script and the other in Bactrian language and cursive Greek script. The Sanskrit epigraph appears on the left half and the Bactrian inscription on the right half of the slab. Two vertical lines divide them.⁷² The relative positions of these epigraphs indicate that they were inscribed or intended to be inscribed simultaneously or at least at about the same time. So, the dates of these inscriptions are correlated.^{72a}

The date of the Sanskrit inscription of record B is (the seventh *tithi*) (as well as) day 7 of the bright (fortnight) (of the month) of Bhādra of the year (*saṁvat*) 38.⁷³ The style of writing the date of this epigraph is similar to that of the Sanskrit inscription of record A. Moreover, palaeographic features of the Sanskrit inscriptions of records A and B, both of which have been discovered in the Tochi valley area, do not indicate any appreciable interval between their dates.⁷⁴ Hence the year 38 should be referred, like the year 32 of the Sanskrit inscription of record A, to the fortieth century of the Laukika Era. (For further evidence see below n. 84). The year 38 should, therefore, be considered to stand for (39) 38, which commenced on March 5 or 6, A.D. 862.⁷⁵ The 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Bhādra of the year (39) 38 of the Laukika Era fell on Thursday, August 6 of A.D. 862.⁷⁶

The Bactrian inscription of record B was written in *X^bONO X : ^ : B MOYO O^bOI*.⁷⁷ This portion of the epigraph was translated by A. H. Dani, H. Humbach and R. Göbl as "the year 632, month six".⁷⁸ This translation seems to have been accepted by K. W. Dobbins.⁷⁹

A. H. Dani, H. Humbach and R. Göbl referred

the year 632 to an era beginning in (A.D. 862-632=) A.D. 230, and wondered whether it was established by Po-t'iao (i.e. the Kushāṇa king Vāsudeva II) after the return of a "delegation" which he had sent to the Chinese court in A.D. 230, or "by a rival who was successful in the meantime."⁸⁰ H. Humbach later suggested that the reckoning was initiated in A.D. 232 with the establishment of the rule of the "Sasanian Kushānshāhs"⁸¹ (i.e. with the establishment of the Sasanian rule in Kushānshahr). K. W. Dobbins thinks that the year one of this era was A.D. 231-32. He observes that the beginning of this reckoning can be explained as the "Yavana Era" of 170 B.C. "with hundreds digit omitted in its fifth century".⁸²

None of the above hypotheses about the origin of the era in question is convincing. There is no reliable evidence of the beginning of an era in or near the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent in A.D. 230 or 231 or 232. Moreover, no parallel example can be cited from the zone and period in question of the introduction of the practice of omitting the figures of hundreds from the years of a reckoning after it was in existence for four hundred years.

The fundamental weakness of the theories of the above scholars lies in the fact that they have not been able to interpret correctly the reading of the date in the Bactrian inscription. They have not realised that in inscriptions the letter *chī* can stand for the figure 1000.⁸³ Hence $X^bONO X : \wedge : B$ can be taken to mean "the year $1000 + 30 + 2$ ".⁸⁴

We have noted above that the date of the Bactrian inscription should correspond to or at least should be

proximate to the date of the Sanskrit inscription of the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Bhādra of the year (39) 38, which fell on August 6, A.D. 862. This means that the year 1032 of the Bactrian inscription should have at least roughly or partly corresponded to A.D. 862. Hence the reckoning indicated in the Bactrian inscription had begun about 1032 years before some-time of A.D. 862. So the era was started in (1032-A.D. 862 =) c. 170 B.C. and its year one fell in 170-69 B.C.

If the expression *MOYO O^bOI* after *X^bONO X* : \wedge : *B* has been correctly interpreted as "month six", and if the Bactrian inscription was written in or about August of A.D. 862, the year 1032 might have commenced in February-March of A.D. 862. This may suggest that the era in question had been counted from February-March of 170 B.C.

We have already shown that the first year of the oldest of the eras widely used in the dated Kharoshthī documents should not be placed after 136 B.C. or rather 145 B.C. and before c. 223 B.C.⁸⁵ or rather 173 B.C.⁸⁶ (Chapter II and Chapter III, section A). This era can now be easily and convincingly identified with the reckoning which the combined evidence of the Tochi records, discussed above, proves to have begun in c. 170 B.C. There is no escape from this conclusion, since we do not know of the establishment of any other era in the second century B.C. in or near the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent, where the era concerned is known to have been used and where the Tochi records have been found.

The above reasoning thus places in c. 170 B.C. the beginning of the oldest of the eras widely used in the

dated Kharoshthī inscriptions. The year one of this reckoning fell in 170-69 B.C.⁸⁷

D

The era of 170 B.C. was popular, as indicated by the Kara Tepe inscription no. 35, even in its fifth century in at least a part of the territory earlier controlled by the Imperial Kushāṇas. The fixation of the epoch of this era will now allow us to refer to it four more Kara Tepe graffiti.

Three of these Bactrian graffiti (nos. 39, 54 and 55) are dated in X^bAO YE, i.e. regnal-year or era-year 405.⁸⁸ They belong to the epigraphic complex which covers the whole surface of a section of the wall in cave no. II at Kara Tepe.⁸⁹ As we have noted above, Kara Tepe inscription no. 35 should be dated after all other records belonging to this group⁹⁰ (see above section A). Hence the dates of the three graffiti (nos. 39, 54 and 55) will have to be placed earlier than the inscription no. 35, which is dated in the year 405, or 430, or 435, or 440 or rather 445. The year 405, in which the three graffiti are dated, may, therefore, be dated to the era of c. 170 B.C., to which the inscription no. 35 has already been ascribed.⁹¹ The three graffiti can thus be dated to (405 - c. 170 B.C. =) c. A.D. 235.

The opening portion of the graffito no. 20 at Kara Tepe has been read by J. Harmatta as (T) Φ Z MAYO . . .⁹² and translated by him as "(in the era-year) (3) 97, in month . . ."⁹³ However, it appears from a published eye-copy of the inscription that the

section should be read as (*X^pON**)*O ΦZ MAYO*,⁹⁴ and should be interpreted to mean “(the year) 500 (+)7, month”.⁹⁵ Since four inscriptions from Kara Tepe establishment can be dated to the fifth century of the era of c. 170 B.C., the inscription of the year 507, found at the same site, may also be attributed to that reckoning.

It appears that the era of c. 170 B.C. was in use in the Kushāṇa empire, at least during its closing decades as well as in parts of Kushānshahr even after the fall of the imperial Kushāṇas by c. A.D. 262. On the other hand, we have no evidence of the employment of the era of 58 B.C. in Kharoshthī epigraphs of the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent and its borderlands after the date of the Taxila silver scroll inscription of the year 136 of Aya (= Azes) or A.D. 78-79 (Chapter II). We have already noted that this record perpetuates the establishment of the relics of the Lord by Urasaka, a Bactrian, “in his own Bodhisattva chapel in the Dharmarājikā compound of Takshaśilā for bestowal of health on the Great King, the King of Kings, the Son of Heaven, the Khushāṇa”,⁹⁶ and that thereby perhaps implies that the scroll should be dated after the Khushāṇa or Kushāṇa conquest of Taxila. This indicates the use of the era of 58 B.C. in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent at least for some time after the advent of the Imperial Kushāṇas. But none of the Kharoshthī inscriptions of the region, in which the figures expressing the year is much higher than 136, can be confidently attributed to the era of 58 B.C. It appears that this reckoning was disconti-

nued in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent from about the 2nd century A.D.

Among the eras used in Bactrian inscriptions of the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent and its borderlands we can confidently include the Kanishka Era⁹⁷ and the era of 170 B.C. but not the era of 58 B.C. Again, the reckoning of Kanishka is not known to have been indicated by any of the Kharoshthī and Bactrian inscriptions of these areas dated in the 2nd century of a system of counting.

This line of reasoning leads us to infer that the dates of the Kharoshthī and Bactrian documents of the Indo-Pak subcontinent and its borderlands referring to years much later than anno 136 should be attributed, unless otherwise indicated, to the reckoning started in c. 170 B.C. (see also Appendix II, n. 1). This is the only acceptable hypothesis, at least in the present state of our knowledge. In fact, we have already attributed the dates of the Peshawar Museum inscription of the year 168, the Khalatse record of the year 187, the Taxila silver *askos* of the year 191, and the Dewai epigraph of the year 200 to this reckoning.^{97a}

The year 265 of an unpublished epigraph in the Peshawar University museum,⁹⁸ the year 303 of the Kula Dheri (Charsadda) casket inscription,⁹⁹ the year 318 of the Loriyān Tangai image pedestal inscription,¹⁰⁰ and the year 359 of the Jamālgaṛhī stone inscription¹⁰¹ may similarly be assigned to the era of c. 170 B.C. The developed forms of the letters in these Kharoshthī records¹⁰² also support or at least do not contradict this hypothesis.

The date of the Hastnagar pedestal inscription was

taken as year 274 by A. Cunningham,¹⁰³ as year 284 by V. A. Smith,¹⁰⁴ and as year 384 by E. Senart¹⁰⁵ and later also by S. Konow.¹⁰⁶ The portion of the inscription containing the date may be deciphered as (*Sarṁ*) 1 (+*) 1 (+*) 1 (×*) 100 (+*) 20 (+*) 20 (+*) 20 (+*) 20 (+*) 4.¹⁰⁷ The figure preceding the numeral 4 must be read as 20 and not as 10. Bivar also accepts this reading. He, however, thinks that the first of the three vertical strokes, each denoting the numeral 1, is the product of an accidental damage and so the figure for 100 is preceded by the only two numerals, each denoting 1. This means that the record is dated in the year 284.¹⁰⁸

We like to point out that though the lower portion of the letter *sarṁ* is damaged, there is enough space for engraving a cipher between *sarṁ*, meaning "year", and the two vertical strokes, denoting 1 (+*) 1, immediately preceding the figure for 100. The only cipher which could have occurred in the space concerned was the figure for 1. And since a vertical stroke, which may denote 1, does occur here, we cannot help considering it as numeral 1. It is quite distinct, if not as bold as the two vertical strokes which follow it.¹⁰⁹ Hence the date should be read as (*Sarṁ*) 1 (+*) 1 (+*) 1 (×*) 100 (+*) 20 (+*) 20 (+*) 20 (×*) 20 (+*) 4.

More problematic is the date of an inscription on an image of Hārītī from Skārah Dherī in the Peshawar district (fig. 5). Here the date is expressed in words, not in ciphers. The majority of scholars at present accept J. F. Fleet's reading *Vash(e*) ek(u)ṇa (cha)duśatimae*.¹¹⁰ This means "in the four hundredth year less one" (i.e. 399).¹¹¹ It must, however, be pointed out, as done by A. D. H. Bivar, that the dependent

vowel of the letter *ka* is uncertain.¹¹² What has been read as *k(u)* may very well be deciphered as *ka*. Again, it is difficult to take the letter following *ṇa* as *cha*. We have no knowledge of the use of a similar form of *cha* in Kharoshthī inscriptions of the Peshawar district, where the image in question was found. These considerations make us sceptical of the reading of J. F. Fleet, even though we cannot reject it outright.

It seems that the letter following *ṇa* may be *va*, if its upper horizontal stroke is taken to be connected with the cross-bar of the following figure which can be deciphered as *ti*,¹¹³ i.e. *ta* with the medial *i*. The cursive style of writing, betrayed by the inscription, permits us to postulate such a hypothesis. In fact, the horizontal stroke of *va* of the word *vasha* in this record is connected with the right hand curve of the letter *sha*. Hence we may be inclined to accept reading *vash(e*) eka-ṇavati-du-śatimae*, which has already been suggested.¹¹⁴ This means that the image was dated "in the year one (and) ninety (after) two hundreds" (i.e. 291).¹¹⁵

The year 399 or rather 291 of the Skārah Dherī image inscription and the year 384 of the Hastnagar sculpture pedestal inscription may be referred, following the principle enunciated above, to the era of c. 170 B.C.¹¹⁶ Stylistic features of these sculptures are not against the ascription of the Skārah Dherī image to the 2nd century A.D. and of the Hastnagar sculptured panel to the early 3rd century A.D.

As we have already suggested, Bactrian inscriptions with very high dates may be referred, like the above Kharoshthī records, to the reckoning of c.

170 B.C. Thus we may tentatively assign the years 341 (?) and 500, known from the Bactrian inscriptions at Zang Tepe¹¹⁷ and the year 1000 (or 1 ?), known from the epigraphic data found at Tuyoq,¹¹⁸ to the era which was started in c. 170 B.C.

It appears that the areas of the use of this reckoning included parts of the north-western region of the Indian subcontinent, Afghanistan and certain localities of Central Asia. The system of counting, which began in c. 170 B.C., survived through different vicissitudes up to at least the sixties of the 9th century A.D.

NOTES

1. *BPKTST*, pp. 7f.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 7f. and 80.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 100, 111 and 112.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
9. Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Kartīr, 11. 9-10; *Journal Asiatique*, 1960, vol. CCXLVIII, pp. 343, 347 and 358.
10. *BSOAS*, 1937-39, vol. IX, pp. 854.
11. *Syria*, 1958, p. 336; B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāna Genealogy (Studies in Kushāna Genealogy and Chronology, vol. I)*, p. 86.
12. *Journal Asiatique*, 1960, vol. CCXLVIII, p. 340.
13. *BPKTST*, p. 41 and pl. no. 12. It is difficult to support the suggestion of J. Harmatta that the date should be read as 80 (*ibid.*, p. 124). It is clear from the photograph of the inscription published in *BPKTST*, pl. XII, that the date should be deciphered as 20 (+*) 20 (+*) 20 or 20 (+*) 20 (+*) 20 (+*) 1.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 124; *Asia Major*, 1957, ns, vol. VI, pt. I, pp. 106 f.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 80 and 104.

16. *BSOAS*, 1946-48, vol. XII, pp. 327-328; *BPKTST*, pp. 106-108. The expression *hipao Bpovo* in the great Surkh-Kotal inscription (*Journal Asiatique*, 1958, vol. CCXLVI, p. 352) must mean the year 30 of the Kanishka Era.

17. *BPKTST*, pl. 19, no. B.

18. The other suggested readings like *CE* [i.e. *sigma* and *epsilon* meaning 200 (+) 5] and *C/* [i.e. *sigma* and *lambda* suggesting 200 (+) 30] (*ibid.*, pp. 80 and 105) cannot be supported. It is difficult to believe that the figure in question includes any form of lunate *sigma*. J. Harmatta reads the date as the year 30 (+*) 5, or 400 (+*) 5, or 400 (+*) 30 (+*) 5 (*BPKTST*, pp. 108 and 122). H. Humbach thinks that the year indicated in the inscription is 30 (+*) 5 (*BKTST*, p. 128).

19. *Ibid.*, pl. 19, no. 8.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 108 and 112.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

23. The coin-type, assigned by E. Herzfeld to one "Bage Vorohrane" serving under Shāpūr I (E. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 38, p. 42), should be attributed to Varahran I Kushānshāh (*JNSI*, 1956, vol. XVIII, pt. I, p. 29 and pl. II, no. 1-9). Hormizd I Kushānshāh served under king Shāpūr I, who died in A.D. 272 or 273 (*BSOAS*, 1946, vol. XI, p. 42). Hormizd I succeeded Shāpūr I on the Sasanian throne. Hormizd I died in A.D. 273 or 274 (*ibid.*). The next Sasanian emperor was his brother Varahran I (*Journal Asiatique*, 1960, vol. CCXLVIII, pp. 341f). So the coins struck by Varahran I as Kushānshāh could have been issued after the end of Shāpūr I's reign and before the beginning of his rule as the Sasanian king. So the coins of Varahran I minted as Kushānshāh should not be dated earlier than c. A.D. 272 or 273. Stylistically also the gold pieces of Varahran I Kushānshāh should be placed after the gold coins of Hormizd I Kushānshāh (*JNSI*, 1956, vol. XVIII, pt. I, pp. 16-18).

24. E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 33; *BSOAS*, 1946, vol. XI, p. 42.

25. See above no. 24.

25a. It may be noted here that excavations at the monastic site at Kara Tepe have yielded silver coins of Varahran I Kushānshāh (*BKTKTST*, p. 102 and pl. XXVII).

26. *BPKTST*, p. 113.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 113 and 123-124.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 123. The assumption of J. Harmatta that the year 405 should have corresponded to A.D. 338 cannot, however, be substantiated by definite data. (See also below n. 91).

30. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. XCI. For an example we can point out that the Taxila inscription of the year 78, referring to Moga, i.e. the Scytho-Parthian king Maues, must be placed before the reign of Kanishka I.

31. B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

32. *Journal Asiatique*, 1954, vol. CCXLII, p. 193.

33. *Ibid.*, pl. IV, no. 3.

34. R. Curiel read the opening portion of the epigraph as *XbONO ΣO* (*ibid.*, 1954, vol. CCXLII, p. 193). A Maricq read it as *XbONO : ΣOE μ* and interpreted it as meaning "285, month. . . ." (*ibid.*, 1958, vol. CCXLVI, p. 416). A.D.H. Bivar has pointed out that the date should be deciphered as *XbONO ΣOE* (or *θ*) *μ*[*ao* and should be interpreted as denoting "the year 275 (or 9), month" (*BSOAS*, 1963, vol. XXVI, p. 500).

35. A. D. H. Bivar, "The Kanishka Dating from Surkh Kotal", *BSOAS*, 1963, vol. XXVI, p. 500.

36. R. Curiel (*Journal Asiatique*, 1954, vol. CCXLII, p. 193) and A. Maricq (*ibid.*, 1958, vol. CCXLVI, p. 416) also think that the inscription in question is incomplete.

37. *BSOAS*, 1963, vol. XXVI, p. 500.

38. *Journal Asiatique*, 1954, vol. CCXLII, pl. IV, no. 3. See also H. Humbach, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler*, pt. I, p. 101; pt. II, pl. 21.

39. *BSOAS*, 1960, vol. XXIII, pp. 48 and 50-52.

Three versions (S.K.4A, S.K.4B and S.K.4M) of the inscription referring to year 31 and Nokonzoko have been discovered at Surkh-Kotal. S.K.4M is affixed to the brick facade of the "bottom terrace", whereas blocks containing parts of S.K.4A and S.K.4B have been found built in the side walls of the stairways leading to a well (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. XLVII, pp. 83-86).

Benveniste has studied the contents of S.K.4M and also the remaining portions of S.K.4A and S.K.4B. He infers that while all the three have a core of common text, mentioning the Kanishka-Nikator Sanctuary and also the restorations by Nokonzoko, S.K.4B mentions the excavation of a well by Borzomioro (Burmihir) and S.K.4M further alludes to some renovation or additions not referred to in the other two texts. Benveniste apparently thinks that this evidence suggests that S.K.4A, S.K.4B and S.K.4M record three successive restorations (though he explicitly refers to only two repairs), and should be dated in the same order (*Journal Asiatique*, 1961, vol. CCXLIX, pp. 138-140).

However, it must be noted that since the texts of S.K.4A and S.K.4B have been reconstructed on the basis of available inscribed blocks, it is quite possible that all such pieces have not yet been recovered. Hence, we should at least concede that the contents of S.K.4A and S.K.4B might have been the same as that of S.K.4M. And this has been rendered highly probable by the facts that the text, common to S.K. 4A, S.K. 4B and S.K. 4M, speaks of the excavation of a well (*ibid.*, 1961, vol. CCVLIX, p. 134; *BSOAS*, 1960, vol. XXIII, p. 53) and that the remnants of only one well have been found at Surkh-Kotal. The references to the excavation of a well by Borzomioro in S.K.4B and S.K.4M may be considered an additional information on the excavation of the same well.

If these considerations are correct, S.K.4A, S.K.4B and S.K.4M may refer to the same restoration and additions. And this inference suggests that until some new evidence comes forth we should date all the three versions to the same period. The results of Schlumberger's excavations at Surkh-Kotal are also against the postulation of three different periods of restoration (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. XLVII, pp. 85 and 88-89).

Nokonzoko visited the temple in the year 31 and then he and others made the restoration and additions. So the versions of the inscription, recording these incidents, may be dated in the year 31, or rather 31 + X.

It appears that three or even more copies were made from the original draft of the document in question. The one most faithfully and beautifully engraved was utilised to commemorate the works of Nokonzoko and others, whereas the slabs of stones

containing other copies (or versions) were broken and used as building materials. (In this connection see also *ZDMG*, 1962, vol. CXII, pp. 340f).

40. The vihāra, the ruins of which have been found outside the Ganj gate of the Peshawar city, was known as Kanishka vihāra. This vihāra was founded by Kanishka I and it was referred to as Kanishka vihāra in an official record of that monarch (*British Museum Quarterly*, 1964, vol. XXVIII, pp. 41-46). In the light of this evidence the Kanishka-Nikator Sanctuary, which was "made to bear the name of the god king Kanishka", must be considered to have been completed during this reign.

41. B. N. Mukherjee, "A Note on the Date of Kanishka", *Our Heritage*, 1969, vol. XVII, pp. 37-38.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 37. For different theories on the date of Kanishka, see H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition), pp. 465f; and the articles in A. L. Basham (editor), *Papers on the Date of Kanishka*.

43. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors*, pp. 82-83.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 43, 47, etc.

45. *BSOAS*, 1963, vol. XXVI, pl. I facing p. 500.

46. *Journal Asiatique*, 1954, vol. CCXLII, p. 193.

47. In this connection see *ibid.*, 1952, vol. CCXL, p. 440 and pl. IV, no. 2.

48. K. W. Dobbins is inclined to date the so-called unfinished "record during the well-attested building phase at the site, and before the final version of the Kanishka inscription of the year 31" (K. W. Dobbins, "Eras of Gandhāra", *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 1970, vol. VII, p. 30). He, however, following I. Gershevitch (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, 1967-68, pp. 27-36), believes that there were three versions of the "inscription of the year 31", and that the unfinished record could have been, therefore, "inscribed even a year after the original drafting of the year 31 record" (*Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 1970, vol. VII, p. 30).

There are reasons to doubt whether there were really three "successive versions" of the inscription mentioning Nokonzoko and the year 31 (see above n. 39). Moreover, if the stone slab bearing the so-called unfinished epigraph was inscribed at the time

of the repairing effected in or after Nishan of the year 31, or if the inscribed slab was used only as a building material at that time, it must have been done so before the date of the draft of the inscription, the purpose of which was to record the restoration of the establishment at Surkh-Kotal. However, the date of drafting the inscription cannot be placed before the month of Nishan of the year 31, when or shortly after which the building was renovated. So the so-called unfinished inscription may be dated to as late a year as 31 or $31+x$.

49. A. D. H. Bivar rightly assumed that the year 275 or 279 of the "unfinished" epigraph was earlier than the date of the record mentioning Nokonzoko (*BSOAS*, 1963, vol. XXVI, p. 500). He apparently believes that the interval between the two documents was appreciable, since he points out that the "unfinished" inscription exhibits the orthograde form of the Greek letter *nu*, which is distinct from the retrograde form of that letter employed in the record mentioning Nokonzoko. Bivar thinks that the year 275 or 279 should be assigned to the era which began, according to W. W. Tarn, in c. 155 B.C. (W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd edition, pp. 494-502), and that the year in question should have corresponded to c. A.D. 120 or 124. The use of an era, other than that of Kanishka (I), in a document found at the Kushāṇa dynastic sanctuary at Surkh-Kotal can be explained, Bivar reflects, only by assuming that the reckoning of Kanishka (I) "had not yet been established at the time when the unfinished inscription was cut". This means that the Kanishka Era was started after c. A.D. 120 or 124. Bivar is of the opinion that this inference supports the theory that the reckoning of Kanishka began in c. A.D. 128-29 (*BSOAS*, 1963, vol. XXVI, pp. 501-502).

The weakness of Bivar's hypothesis is betrayed by the plausibility of attributing the year 275 or 279 to a year as late as the year 31 or $31+x$ of the Kanishka Era (see above n. 48). It may also be pointed out that the orthograde form of *nu*, as appearing in the so-called unfinished inscription, can be noticed on some coins of Huvishka, to whose reign Bivar assigns the record mentioning Nokonzoko. So the occurrence of the orthograde form of *nu* in the record in question does not necessarily date it much earlier than the inscription referring to Nokonzoko.

49a. XXIXth International Congress of Orientalists, *Abstracts of Papers*, p. 2.

49b. *Ibid.*

50. *ASSIPH*, p. 189.

51. In this connection see also B. N. Mukherjee, "The Epigraphic Evidence from Kara Tepe and the So-called Old Saka Era", *East and West*, 1971, vol. XXI, pp. 69f.

52. See above n. 42.

53. M. A. Shankur, *A Handbook to the Inscriptions Gallery of the Peshawar Museum*, p. 44, pl. XV, no. 1; pp. 109f.

54. M. H. Kuraishi, "A Kufic Sarada Inscription from the Peshawar Museum", *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1925-26, pp. 27-28; pl. XI, no. b. A. H. Dani, H. Humbach and R. Göbl, "Tochi Valley Inscriptions in the Peshawar Museum", *Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, pp. 131-132.

55. See above n. 54; H. Humbach, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler*, pt. II, pl. 24.

56. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, pl. XI, no. b; H. Humbach, *op. cit.*, pt. II, pl. 24.

57. A. H. Dani and others have wrongly translated the portion containing the date as "Friday, the thirteenth day of Jamāda I of the year 243 A.H." (*Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, p. 128).

58. See above n. 56.

59. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1925-26, p. 28.

60. A. H. Dani, H. Humbach and R. Göbl unnecessarily first read the year as 243 A.H. and then emended it as 242 A.H. (*Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, pp. 128 and 134, f.n. 36). H. Humbach, who now considers the year as 243 A.H., wants to replace "Friday" by "Tuesday, since the 13th of Jamāda I in 243 A.H. was a Tuesday" (H. Humbach, *op. cit.*, pt. I, p. 108). We have already shown that the day in question was fourteenth, "when thirteen days had passed from the month of Jamāda I". And since the fourteenth was a Friday in 242 A.H., and not in 243 A.H., the year concerned should be taken as 242 A.H.

61. L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris*, vol. II, p. 115.

62. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1925-26, p. 28.

63. *Ibid.*, pl. XI, no. b.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

65. The suggestion ascribing the year 32 to the Śāstra or the Laukika Era has been accepted by all scholars who have

studied this inscription (*Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, 134; H. Humbach, *op. cit.*, pt. I, p. 12; etc.).

66. Al Bīrūnī *Tahqīq-i-Hind.*, ch. XLIX; Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, vol. II, pp. 8-9; M. A. Stein, *Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, vol. I, p. 58; *Indian Antiquary*, 1891, vol. XX, pp. 150-151; A. Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras* (reprint), pp. 11f; D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 320; etc.

67. Al Bīrūnī, *loc. cit.*; E. Sachau, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 8; M. A. A. Stein, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 58. The figures for hundreds sometimes occur in certain almanacs of Kāśmīra (*Indian Antiquary*, 1891, vol. XX, pp. 150-151).

68. L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 214; A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 165. The Laukika Era is believed to have begun on *Chaitra śu di I* of Kali Samvat 25 (expired) or 3076-75 B.C. (M. A. Stein, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 58; G. Buhler, *Report*, p. 60; etc.). The Laukika years are counted from the first day of the bright fortnight of the luni-solar month of Chaitra (M. A. Stein, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 58). A verse (VII, 127) of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* refers to the death of Saṁgrāmarāja on the first day of Āshāḍha in the year (four thousand one hundred and) four, while another verse (VII, 131) of the same text records the death of his son and successor Harirāja after a reign of twenty-four days and on the eighth day of the bright half of Āshāḍha. The combined evidence of these two verses proves that in early medieval age months of a year of the Laukika Era started with the first day of the dark fortnight and so were *Purnimānta*. The same system was followed also in later periods (*Indian Antiquary*, 1891, vol. XX, pp. 149-150).

A verse of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* states that "in the twenty-fourth year (*i.e. in the year four thousand two hundred and twenty-four*) of the Laukika (*Era*) one thousand and seventy years of the Śaka Era have passed" (*Italics ours*) (I, 52; M. A. Stein, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 11, f.n. 50). This verse shows that the years of the Laukika Era were reckoned as "current" years and not as "expired" years, and that the number of the current Laukika year with the hundreds omitted would give, when added to 46, the "number of the expired Śaka year without the hundreds" (*Indian Antiquary*, 1891, vol. XX, p. 151; D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 320).

The Śaka year 1070 (expired) or A.D. (1070 + 78-79) 1148-49 fell in the year (42) 24 of the Laukika Era. So (39) 32 Lau-

kika year should have corresponded to [1148/49—(4224-3932)] A.D. 856-57. And since the Laukika years are counted from *Chaitra śu di I*, the year 3932 of the Laukika Era commenced in March, A.D. 856. The exact date was Wednesday, March 11, A.D. 856 (A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 165; L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 114).

69. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 165; L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 114.

70. If the year is counted from the first day of bright fortnight of Chaitra, and if the months are considered as ending with the last day of the dark fortnight, there should be fifteen fortnights from the beginning of the bright half of Chaitra to that of the dark half of Kārttika. This system of calculation has led L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai to place the second *tithi* of the dark half of Kārttika on October 19, A.D. 856 (*op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 114-115). But the months in a Laukika Era are taken as ending with the last day of the bright half, even though the years are counted from the first day of the bright half of Chaitra (*Indian Antiquary*, 1891, vol. XX, p. 149). This system suggests that there should be thirteen fortnights between the beginning of the bright half of Chaitra and that of the dark half of Kārttika. Hence the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kārttika of the Laukika year 39 (32) (A.D. 856-57) should have fallen two fortnights earlier than October 19 of A.D. 856. The first and second *tithis* of that dark fortnight fell on Saturday, September 19, A.D. 856 (L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 115).

71. M. A. Shakur, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

72. H. Humbach, *op. cit.*, pt. II, pl. 25.

72a. That a Bactrian epigraph could have been written on an object simultaneously with a record in another language and script is suggested by the reference to a particular person in the Bactrian inscription and also in an inscription in the Brāhmī script, both appearing on a ware found at Kara Tepe (*BKTK-TST*, pp. 118-121; pl. XXIII).

73. H. Humbach, *op. cit.*, pt. I, p. 109, pt. II, pl. 25; *Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, p. 130.

74. Compare pl. 24 with pl. 25 in H. Humbach, *op. cit.*, pt. II. Note the forms of the letters *sa*, *da*, etc., appearing in these two records (figs. 4 and 5).

75. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 165; L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 126.

76. L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 127.

77. H. Humbach, *op. cit.*, pt. II, pl. 25; pt. I, p. 110; *Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, p. 132.

78. See above n. 73. H. Humbach first read the year as 612 (*Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, p. 132, f.n. 29), but later changed his reading.

79. *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 1970, vol. VII, p. 24.

80. *Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, p. 133.

81. H. Humbach, *op. cit.*, pt. I, pp. 14-16. H. Humbach had to fix the initial year of the era concerned in A.D. 232, since he read the year of the Arabic inscription of record A as 243, corresponding roughly to A.D. 857, and since he thought that the year (39) 38 of the Sanskrit inscription of record B, which probably corresponded to the year 632 (sic) of the Bactrian inscriptions, fell six years after A.D. 857 (*ibid.*, pp. 14-15). We have already shown that the year mentioned in the Arabic inscription must be read as 242 A.H. Moreover, the date of the Sanskrit inscription of the year (39) 38 should be fixed approximately six years after that of the Sanskrit epigraph of the year (39) 32, which fell in A.D. 856.

82. *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 1970, vol. VII, pp. 24 and 32. For the observations of I. Gershevitch on the Tochi inscriptions, see *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 1967-68, pp. 36f.

83. H. Liddel and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (1961), p. 1969. "Inscriptions x stands for $\chi\lambda\omicron\iota$, a , $a = 1000$ " (*ibid.*).

84. *Ibid.*, pp. 1969, 1020 and 300.

An inscribed stone slab found at Sher Talao in the Tochi Agency and now preserved in the Peshawar museum may be relevant to our study. Its uppermost portion is occupied by an Arabic inscription in Kufic characters. A Bactrian inscription in cursive Greek script can be noticed below the Arabic epigraph. A neatly drawn horizontal line divides the two (fig. 6) (M. A. Shakur, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, no. 8; *Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, pp. 128 and 132-133; H. Humbach, *op. cit.*, pt. I, pp. 112-116; pt. II, pl. 26). The purport of the

Bactrian epigraph, which is dated in XbONO X : \wedge : E, is not very clear. On the other hand, the extant portion of the Arabic inscription, which seems to perpetuate an act of one 'Abbās ibn 'Unayya, does not contain a date. Nevertheless, the relative positions of these two documents suggest that they were inscribed about the same time. Or at least, the fact that the person responsible for inscribing the Arabic epigraph utilised the best visible portion of the slab tends to place it earlier, and certainly not later, than the Bactrian epigraph in question. This means that XbONO X : \wedge : E or the year 1000(+), 30(+) 5 of the Bactrian inscription cannot be dated before the advent of Islam in the Tochi area. The earliest evidence of such a political development in the history of this locality is provided by our record no. A, in which the Arabic inscription is dated in (A.H.) 242 and the Sanskrit inscription is dated in (39) 32 (of the Laukika Era) (*Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, pp. 128 and 135). Hence the year 1035 of the Bactrian epigraph on the Sher Talao slab should not be placed, in the present state of our knowledge, before the second quarter of the third century of the Hijra era and also of the fortieth century of the Laukika Era. If the purposes for inscribing the Sher Talao stone with an Arabic inscription and also with a Bactrian inscription immediately below it were one and the same, both of them should be dated to one of the early decades of the first penetration of Islam into the area concerned, when it would have been natural to feel the necessity of recording an act of a devotee of Islam in a language intelligible in that locality as well as in Arabic. This indicates that the year 1035 may not be placed after the second quarter of the third century of the Hijra Era and also of the fortieth century of the Laukika Era. It should, however, be remembered that we have no definite knowledge of the purport of the Bactrian inscription appearing below the Arabic inscription on the Sher Talao slab. We should also admit the difficulty of understanding another Bactrian inscription, stated in XbONO X : (\wedge) : E or [, i.e. in the year 1000(+) (30) (+) 5 or (+) 6, which is apparently recorded as appearing in a separate portion of the Sher Talao stone (*Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, p. 134; H. Humbach, *op. cit.*, pt. I, p. 116 and pt. II, pl. 271; *BKTKTST*, p. 128).

Nevertheless, the above line of reasoning allows us to infer

that the year 1032 of the Bactrian inscription of record B, which is obviously to be assigned to the reckoning used in Sher Talao Bactrian inscriptions of the year 1035, and so also the year 38 of record B should be placed in or at least not earlier than the second quarter of the fortieth century of the Laukika Era. Hence the year 38 of the Sanskrit inscription of record B may very well be interpreted as (39) 38 of the Laukika Era. At least it is better, in the present state of our knowledge, to refer the year 38 to the Laukika Era, than to consider it a regnal year.

85. *ASSIPH*, pp. 188-189.

86. In this connection see also *East and West*, 1971, vol. XXI, p. 72.

87. K. W. Dobbins seems to be right in guessing that the era concerned (which he calls the Yavana Era) began in c. 170 B.C. His hypothesis was based mainly on his interpretations of some numismatic data and the testimonies of the records of Maues (year 78), Vima Kadphises (year 187) and Jihonika (year 191), and the Surkh-Kotal inscription of the year 275 or 279. K. W. Dobbins thinks that the combined evidence "argues for a date in round figures between 180 and 160 B.C. for the beginning of the Yavana Era. The mean year is 170 B. C." (*Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 1970, vol. VII, pp. 29-30). His arguments thus do not fix the beginning of the era in c. 170 B.C. with any amount of exactitude. His interpretation of the date of the Bactrian inscription of record B is also wrong. The year one of the era can now be convincingly ascertained on the basis of the evidence of the Tochi records.

88. *BPKTST*, pp. 108-109 and 112-113.

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 108 and 113.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

91. J. Harmatta has already attributed the year 405 to the so-called Old Śaka Era (*ibid.*, p. 123). The name "Old Śaka Era" obviously means the oldest of the eras widely used in the dated Kharoshthī records. Harmatta suggests that the year 405 should have corresponded to A.D. 338 (*ibid.*). This hypothesis is apparently based on the assumption that this reckoning began in c. 67 B.C. (In this connection see *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 1965, vol. XIII, pp. 194f). This theory about the initial year of the era in question can be rejected on the basis of our own findings.

92. *BPKTST*, pp. 931.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 202, fig. 16.

95. H. Liddle and R. Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 752 and 1911.

96. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 77.

97. The month of Nishan of the year 31 mentioned in the great Surkh-Kotal inscription, which also refers to the building where it has been found, as Kanishka-Nikātor Sanctuary, has already been ascribed to the Kanishka Era (*Journal Asiatique*, 1958, vol. CCXLVI, p. 352; W. B. Henning, "The Bactrian Inscription", *BSOAS*, 1960, vol. XXIII, p. 51; etc.).

97a. The Dewai epigraph of the year 200 records a gift of a person whose name has been read by S. Konow as *Hima* (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pl. XV, no. 3). But the first letter of the named should better be deciphered as *V'* (*i*). Compare the form of the letter concerned in *ibid.*, pl. XV, no. 3, l. 3 with that of the letter *V'a* in the legend on several coins of *V'ma* (*NC*, 1892, pl. V, no. 4). As the donor is described only as *bhadra* and no royal title is attributed to him, we do not know whether he should be identified with the Kushāna ruler *V'ma* Kadphises.

98. *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 1970, vol. VII, p. 26. I am grateful to Mr. K. W. Dobbins for furnishing me with an eye-copy of this inscription.

99. *El*, vol. XXIV, p. 10.

100. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 107. The vertical stroke immediately before the figure for 100 is shorter than the other two vertical strokes preceding it. Nevertheless, it is distinct and it undoubtedly denotes, like the other two strokes, the numeral "one" (*ibid.*, pl. XXI, no. I; *BSOAS*, 1970, vol. XXXIII, pl. facing p. 16).

101. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 113; pl. XXII, no. I.

102. See above nos. 99-101.

103. *JASB*, 1889, vol. LVIII, pp. 144f; *Indian Antiquary*, 1889, vol. XVII, pp. 257f.

104. *Ibid.*, 1892, vol. LXI, pt. I, pp. 54f.

105. *Journal Asiatique*, 1899, nos. IX, vol. XIII, p. 331.

106. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. I, 119. J. Ph. Vogel (*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1903-4, pp. 150f.) and F. E. Pargiter (*El*, vol. XIII, p. 302) accepted the date as year 384.

107. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pl. XXII, no. 10.
 108. *BSOAS*, 1970, vol. XXXIII, p. 17.
 109. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pl. XXII, no. 10. A deep indentation occurs below the first vertical stroke, and it appears to have continued obliquely below the pedestal (*BSOAS*, 1970, vol. XXXIII, pl. II). This might have been the result of some sort of an accident.

110. *JRAS*, 1907, p. 184; 1912, p. 686, f.n. 1.; *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 127; *The "Scythian" Period*, p. 120; *East and West*, 1967, vol. XVII, p. 268; etc. A W. Stratton, who first discussed the portion containing the date of this inscription, read it as either *ekunaṣītiṣatimae* or *ekanavati-ṣatimae* (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1903, vol. XXIV, pt. I, p. 4. See also *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1903-4, pp. 254f). A. Boyer, A. Foucher (*L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, vol. II, p. 573, f.n. 1), R. D. Banerji (*JRAS*, 1920, p. 203), and once N. G. Majumdar (*JPASB*, 1924, p. 21) accepted the reading *ekunaṣītiṣatimae*. The letter *śa* of *ṣatimae* is clear and if it is compared with what has been read as *śi*, the vulnerability of such a reading becomes palpable. Moreover, the next letter must be taken as *da* with the medial *u* and not as *ta* with the dependent vowel *i*. Majumdar himself, who had once accepted the reading in question, discarded it and read the date as *eka-ṇavati-du-ṣatimae* (N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculpture in the Indian Museum*, pt. II, *The Graeco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra*, p. 19, f.n. 1). In this connection, see also H. Deydier, *Contribution à l'étude de l'art du Gandhāra*, p. 224; *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 120-121; etc.

111. *CII*, vol. II, p. I, p. 127.
 112. *BSOAS*, 1970, vol. XXXIII, p. 18.
 113. *East and West*, 1967, ns., vol. XVII, figure 2 of the plates between pp. 270 and 271.

114. See above n. 110.

115. *BSOAS*, 1970, vol. XXXIII, p. 18. K. W. Dobbins points out that the whirl-pool-like pattern of beaded ridges of the drapery on the right breast of the image of Hārīti betrays the influence of a school of art at Hatra near Mosul, which ended in about A.D. 241 (*East and West*, ns. 1967, vol. XVII, pp. 269-270). This inference, however, does not necessarily require us to read the date as "year 399". If the inscription is

dated in the era of c. 170 B.C., the reading "399" will place it in A.D. 229 and the reading "291" will assign it to A.D. 121. The influence of the Hatra school of art could have been expected in either case.

For critical appraisals by K. W. Dobbins of the relevant views of B. Rowland (*Art Bulletin*, 1936, vol. XVIII, p. 395, n. 27), H. Ingholt (*Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, p. 41) and M. W. Khan (*East and West*, ns, 1964-65, vol. XV, p. 58), see *ibid.*, 1967, ns, vol. XVII, p. 27. K. W. Dobbins himself thinks that stylistically the Skārah Dherī image should be dated after the Hastnagar sculpture of the year 384 (K. W. Dobbins, *The Sūpa and Vihāra of Kanishka I*, pp. 65-68). But the treatment of the open eyes and the ridge-like folds on the garment of the Skārah Dherī icon can be favourably compared with similar features noticeable in a standing female figure, made of stone, found at one of the Later Śaka-Parthian strata at Sirkap (Taxila) (*Taxila*, vol. II, p. 701, no. 3; vol. III, pl. 211, no. 3).

116. A. D. H. Bivar wants to apply the theory of omitted hundreds to the date "year 89" of the Mamāne Dherī inscription and thinks that the "full reading may be taken to have been *(2) 89". Bivar ascribes this date to the era under discussion (*BSOAS*, 1970, vol. XXXIII, p. 18). Such a hypothesis cannot be accepted without definite supporting evidence. Moreover, the year 89 is generally assigned to the Kanishka Era (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 172).

117. *BPKTST*, p. 104.

118. cf. F. Altheim, *Aus Spätantike und Christentum*, pl. IX, 1.5.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

A

THE discussions in Chapters II and III lead, as noted above, to certain striking conclusions. It now seems virtually certain that at least two eras of pre-Kushāṇa origin were used in the north-western part of the Indo-Pak subcontinent and its borderlands during the Śaka-Pahlava age. The older of the two reckonings was counted from c. 170 B.C. The other was known as the Azes Era, identifiable with the era of 58 B.C. (Chapter II, sections A and C; Chapter III, section C).

The era of 58 B.C. fell into disuse in the north-western part of the Indo-Pak subcontinent sometime in the Kushāṇa period. The era of c. 170 B.C., however, continued to be used there during and also after the Kushāṇa age. Its existence even in so late a period as the 9th century A.D. is attested to by certain epigraphic data (Chapter III, sections C and D).

The above inferences do not by themselves deny the possibility of the existence of some other reckoning or reckonings of pre-Kushāṇa origin in the above-noted territories during the Śaka-Pahlava or Kushāṇa period. In fact, one may interpret an inscriptional evidence as indicating at least sporadic use of such a system of counting dates in the borderlands of the Indo-Pak subcontinent during the early Kushāṇa age (see Appendix II, n. 1). Nevertheless, the data at our

disposal, which have been analysed in Chapters II and III, leave little room for doubting that the eras of c. 170 B.C. and 58 B.C. were the most popular, if not the only, reckonings in use in the Indo-Pak subcontinent and its borderlands during the days of the Scytho-Parthians. Hence the dated documents of this zone and period should be referred, unless otherwise indicated, to one of these two systems of counting dates. The contents and palaeographic features of each of the records will have to be considered before attributing it to one of these two reckonings.

We have already observed that the Kharoshthī and Bactrian inscriptions, which have been discovered in the north-western part of the Indo-Pak subcontinent and its borderlands and are dated in years much later than anno 136, cannot be confidently ascribed to the era of 58 B.C. or of Kanishka I. Each of them may be conveniently attributed, unless there is a definite evidence to the contrary, to the reckoning of c. 170 B.C. (Chapter III, section D).

B

It is not possible to determine whether the era of c. 170 B.C. was ceremonially founded by some person or it grew out of a practice of counting years from a certain date. It is also impossible to identify the ruler during whose reign the reckoning began.

We should, however, bear in mind that the kings or rulers who are mentioned in the records dated in the first century of this era probably did not belong

to the Greek or Indo-Greek community who established kingdoms in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent and its borderlands in the second half of the 3rd century and in the first half of the 2nd century B.C. The inscriptions in question furnish names of certain rulers like Damijada, Moga, etc., which indicate their affiliation to the Scythians (including the Sakas) or the Iranians (including the Pahlavas).¹

The name of the month in which the Taxila inscription of Moga is dated is given as *Panemasa*.² This may well be identified with the month of Pone-mos of the Macedonian calendar.³ This, however, does not necessarily associate the era concerned with the Indo-Greeks. We have examples of the use of Macedonian months in a few inscriptions dated in the era of Kanishka I.⁴ Such instances suggest the survival of names of months, which had come into use in parts of the Indian subcontinent during the period of the Indo-Greeks and/or of the Imperial Parthians, who used months of the Macedonian calendar,⁵ and who at different times exerted political influence in some areas of the subcontinent.⁶

Thus the Śakas or the Śaka-Pahlavas have a better claim than the Indo-Greeks to the origin of this era. There are also other indications of its association with the name *Saka* (Śaka). F. W. Thomas read the name *Saka* before the numerals 1(×*) 100(+*) 20(+*) 20(+*) 20(+*) 20(+*) (10(+*) 1 in the Taxila vase inscription of Jihonika.⁷ One of the various hypotheses of S. Konow regarding the era used by Jihonika⁸ supports the reading of Thomas.⁹ A close examination of the photograph of the inscription, pub-

lished in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pt. I, clearly shows that the letter *ka* appears immediately before the numerals. There are traces of a letter before *ka*, which can be deciphered only as *Sa*¹⁰ (figs. 7-8). So, with some confidence we can read the word (*Sa*)*ka* before the figures 1(×*) 100(+*) 20(+*) 20(+*) 20(+*) 10(+*) 1. These numerals, amounting to 191, certainly denote the year in which the record is dated. The word (*Sa*)*ka*, appearing before the date of the record, can be taken as its qualifying epithet. This means that the era in which the year 191 was dated was called Saka (Śaka) at least in the last decade of its second century. The year 191 has already been attributed by us to the reckoning of c. 170 B.C (Chapter II, section B).

The date of the explicit association of this era with the name of the Śakas can be pushed back to a still earlier period if we follow S. Konow's interpretation of the Shahdaur inscription of Damijada. S. Konow read *Sakasa*, meaning "of Saka", after the word *Damijadasa* and before the portion of the record which, according to him, contained the date. According to him, the inscription is dated in the "Saka sixty-60."¹¹ It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the letter *ka* actually appears in the word in question.¹² Moreover, as we have noted above, the date of the record is uncertain (Chapter III, section E).

The evidence of the Shahdaur record thus does not help us in solving the problem. The Taxila inscription of the year 191, on the other hand, indicates that the era concerned became associated with the name of the Śakas at least in its second century, if not at a

still earlier date. The Śakas, as we have noted, could have a claim to the origin of the reckoning in question.

These considerations suggest that the era of c. 170 B.C. may be tentatively called the Śaka Era or the Śaka-Pahlava Era. We should, following one of the suggestions of S. Konow,¹³ use the word "old" as a prefix to the expression "Śaka Era", in order to distinguish this reckoning from the Śaka Era of A.D. 78.

In this connection we may refer to certain statements of the *Ch'ien Han-shu*. It is clear from Chapter 61 of this treatise that the Great Yüeh-chih, driven away from their "original habitat" by the Hsiung-nu, attacked and occupied the Sai country, and "the king of the Sai" took flight to a great distance southward.¹⁴ According to the same passage, some time later the king of the Wu-sun attacked the Yüeh-chih in the Sai country and the latter moved westwards and invaded and subjugated Ta-hsia.¹⁵ A section of Chapter 96B of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* states that "when the Great Yüeh-chih went to the west and defeated and drove away the Sai king, the Sai king went southward and crossed Hsüan-tu, and the Great Yüeh-chih occupied their (*sic*) country."¹⁶ A passage of Chapter 96A of the identical text informs us that "when the Hsiung-nu defeated the Great Yüeh-chih, the Yüeh-chih went to the west and became rulers of Ta-hsia, whereas the Sai king (or Sai-wang) went southward and became ruler(s) of Chi-pin."¹⁷

It becomes clear from a comparative study of these statements that the Great Yüeh-chih, ousted by the Hsiung-nu, invaded and occupied the Sai country, and that thereupon the Sai king moved southward, cross-

sed Hsüan-tu and became ruler of Chi-pin. Some time later the king of the Wu-sun drove away the Great Yüeh-chih from the Sai country, and they went to Ta-hsia.¹⁸ The Hsiung-nu Chief Chi-chu, who had the title of Lao-shang shan-yü and who ruled from c. 174 to 160 (or 158) B.C.,¹⁹ was alive when the Great Yüeh-chih were driven away by the Hsiung-nu from their "original habitat" and also at the time when the Wu-sun drove away the Yüeh-chih from the Sai country. Hence the migration of the Sai king from the Sai country must have begun sometime between c. 174 and 160 or 158 B.C. The date should be placed nearer to 174 B.C. than to 160 or 158 B.C., since a few years probably lapsed between the entry of the Great Yüeh-chih into the Sai country and their exit from it.

The term *Sai*, known to have been pronounced in Archaic Chinese as *sək*, has been identified with the name *Saka* (*Śaka*).²⁰ The Sai or Śaka country has been located in the Issyk-kul area in Kirgizia, U.S.S.R.²¹ It has already been shown that Chi-pin of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* signifies the political (or administrative) jurisdiction of a country which could be reached through Hsüan-tu and which had within its limits a portion of the north-western region of the Indian sub-continent²² (Chapter II, n. 27). Stein located Hsüan-tu or the Hanging Passage along the Indus and from the south of Darel to Mirabat, "some eight miles above the side valley of Kanda belonging to the Swat."²³

It appears from the Chinese source that a Śaka movement under a Śaka king began from the Issyk-kul area on a date not far removed from c. 174 B.C., and that he migrated to the north-western part of the

Indian subcontinent and established there a Śaka kingdom. The earliest known examples of the use of the era of c. 170 B.C. are provided by inscriptions of this region. Hence if the era of c. 170 B.C. had been originally associated with the Śakas, it might have come into existence out of a practice of counting years from the date of an event in the reign of the Śaka king in question.

C

We are better informed about the origin of the era of 58 B.C. The name of the Scytho-Parthian or Indo-Parthian king Azes (I) was associated with it (Chapter I, section C).

It is well-known that the era of 58 B.C. was designated as the reckoning of Kṛita in the Nadsa (not very far from Bhilwara railway station, Rajasthan) inscriptions of the year 282,²⁴ Badva (Kotah area, Rajasthan) inscriptions of the Maukharis of the year 295,²⁵ the Bijaygarh (Bharatpur area, Rajasthan) inscription of the year 428, etc.²⁶ The same era has been referred to as the "reckoning of the Mālava gaṇa which has been eulogised by the name *Kṛita*" in the inscription of the year 461 from Mandasor²⁷ (situated not very far to the south of Kotah), and as the reckoning of Kṛita as well the *pūrva (tithi)*, and so a date (?) of the Mālavas in a record of the year 481, found at Nagari²⁸ (in the Udaipur area, Rajasthan). Epigraphic records associate this era with the Mālava *vaṃśa*, Mālava gaṇa, Mālava country and kings of the

Mālavas.²⁹ The identical reckoning is alluded to in the Dhiniki inscription of the year 794 referring to *Vikrama-saṁvatsara*, in the Dholpur inscription of the year 898 mentioning *Kāla Vikram-ākhyā*, and the Bijapur record of the year 973 referring to the *Vikramakāla*.³⁰ The association of the name of Vikramāditya with the era was complete by the date when the Navsari record of the year 1131 attributed its foundation to Vikramāditya (*Śrī-Vikramāditya-otpādita-saṁvatsara*).³¹

The provenances of the records containing the earliest known references to the Kṛita Era or the Mālava Era suggest its use in the areas now in Eastern and South-Eastern Rajasthan and the nearby Mandasor region. Parts of these tracts were once in the territory of the Mālava *gaṇa*.³² In fact, the Nandsa inscriptions refer to the country of the *gaṇa* of the Mālavas (*Mālava-gaṇa-vishaya*).³³

It has been suggested that the Mālavas, referred to as the Malloi by the historians of Alexander's expedition, lived in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent in the 4th century B.C.,³⁴ and that later they moved to the Rajasthan region.³⁵ This migration might have taken place after they had become familiar with the Azes Era of 58 B.C. Kṛita, according to one of the theories of D. C. Sircar, might have been a chief of the Mālava "tribe".³⁶ However, since the reckoning might have been well-known and widely used in parts of the subcontinent before its introduction in Rajasthan, it could have been called Kṛita Era, meaning the "proper" or "good" era.³⁷

In the 4th century A.D. the Mālavas came under the political influence of the Imperial Guptas.³⁸ Chan-

dragupta II Vikramāditya ousted the Śaka Kshatrapas of Western India.³⁹ Thus the Guptas became connected with the region which knew the use of the era concerned. D. C. Sircar has ably demonstrated that with the passage of time the name of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, one of the most famous personages in Indian history and tradition, became associated with the reckoning of 58 B.C.⁴⁰

D

Thus the era of 58 B.C. has been called by different names simultaneously or in different periods of its history. The era of c. 170 B.C., which forms the main subject of our study, was, however, not so fortunate. The word *Saka* (*Śaka*) appears, as noted above, perhaps only once or at least not more than twice before the dates in the records ascribable to this reckoning. However, the initial year of this era is now reasonably placed in c. 170-69 B.C. This, it may be hoped, will help in reconstructing the chronology of a difficult but important period of history of the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent.

NOTES

1. *JRAS*, 1906, p. 208.
2. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 28.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 24; *Coins of Parthia*, p. LXVI.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 141, 152, 155, 158, 170, etc. So, there is not much in the argument that the use of Macedonian months

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suggests that the era concerned was of Indo-Greek origin (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1958, vol. LXXVIII, p. 178; *BSOAS*, 1963, vol. XXCI, p. 501, f.n. 1).

5. *Coins of Parthia*, pp. LXVI and 281.

6. *ASSIPH*, pp. 61f.

7. *Gottingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 4; *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 255.

8. S. Konow at first considered the letter *Ka* before the figures denoting 191 as an abbreviation of the word *Kale* (*Kāle*), meaning "in the year" (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 821; see also D. C. Sircar, *SI*, vol. I, 1st edition, p. 131, f.n. 2). In one of his latest articles S. Konow interpreted the letter *Ka* as the "maker's signature, or indication of his locality or workshop" (*Acta Orientalia*, 1947, vol. XX, p. 115). J. Allan took the letter *Ka* before the numerals denoting 191 as standing for *Karshapana*. But as pointed out by J. Marshall, the vase, which bears the inscription, does not weigh anything like 191 *Kārshāpaṇas* (*ibid.*). Moreover, it is clear from the context that the figures for 191 signify the date and not the weight or value of the vase.

9. *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 252; *JIH*, 1933, vol. XII, p. 3.

10. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pl. XVI, no. b.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

12. *Ibid.*, pl. III, no. I. Even if the word following *Damijadasa* is read as *Sakasa*, it can refer to *Damijada* as a *Saka* (*Śaka*).

13. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, xci.

14. *CHS*, ch. 61, p. 4.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*, ch. 96 B, p. I.

17. *Ibid.*, ch. 96 A, p. 10.

18. *ASSIPH*, p. 203.

19. *CHS*, ch. 61; ch. 96 A, p. 14b; *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1881, vol. X, p. 69; A. L. Basham (editor), *Papers on the Date of Kanishka*, pp. 362-363; B. Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, vol. II, pp. 173-175; *ASSIPH*, p. 209, n. 41.

20. A. L. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 88, no. t.

21. A. Herrmann, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, pp. 17 and 21.

22. *ASSIPH*, p. 193.

23. M. A. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. 1, p. 8.
24. *EI*, vol. XXVII, pp. 263f.
25. *Ibid.*, vol. XXIII, p. 52.
26. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors*, p. 253; D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 1, no. 1.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 1, no. 3; *EI*, vol. XII, p. 320.
28. D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 2, no. 5. See also D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 253, f.n. 9.
29. D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 2ff.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 4, no. 17; p. 6, no. 27; p. 10, no. 48; *IA*, 1883, vol. XII, p. 155; *ZDMG*, 1886, vol. XL, p. 42, *EI*, vol. X, p. 24.
31. D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 23, no. 141.
32. K. K. Dasgupta, *The Mālavas*, pp. 4-5. The Maukharis, mentioned in the Badva inscriptions of the year 295, probably used and helped to popularise the era of 58 B.C. The date of the Haraha inscription of the Maukhari king Īśānavarman is attributed to this reckoning (D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 3, no. 10).
33. *EI*, vol. XXVII, p. 263.
34. R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 163; K. K. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5; etc.
35. See above n. 34.
36. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 255.
37. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1951), p. 301.
38. J. F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 8; K. K. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
39. E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 22; *JRAS*, 1893, p. 82; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th ed.), pp. 555f.
40. D. C. Sircar, *Ancient Mālava and the Vikramāditya Tradition*, pp. 162f; D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 254-255. See also D. R. Bhandarkar, "Vikrama Samvat, Its Origin and Nomenclature in Different Periods" in R. K. Mukherjee (editor), *Vikrama Volume*, pp. 57-69; and H. C. Raychaudhuri, "Vikramāditya in History and Legend" in R. K. Mukherjee (editor), *op. cit.*, pp. 483-511. There is no factual basis for the

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93.

Jaina tradition regarding the establishment of "his own era" by Vikramāditya after he became king of Mālava by exterminating the Śakas (N. Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*, pp. 43, 90 and 95; *ASSIPH*, p. 47). This tradition reflects the belief current in early mediaeval age about Vikramāditya (Chandragupta II Vikramāditya) having been the founder of the era of 58 B.C.

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX I

KHAROSHṬHĪ INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN THE OLD ŚAKA ERA

No. INSCRIPTIONS	PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY
1. Shahdaur stone inscription of Damijada of the year 50 (?)	S. Konow. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i> , vol. II, pt. I, <i>Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka</i> , Calcutta, 1929, p. 16 and pl. III, no. 1. See also above Chapter II, section E.
2. Mānsherā stone inscription of the year 68 (?)	<i>CII</i> , vol. II, pt. I, p. 20 and pl. IV, no. 2. See also above Chapter II, section E.
3. Fatehjang stone inscription of the year 68	<i>CII</i> , vol. II, pt. I, p. 22 and pl. IV, no. 1. See also above Chapter II, section E.
4. Taxila copperplate inscription of the time of Moga and of the year 78	<i>CII</i> , vol. II, pt. 1, pp. 28-29, and pl. V, no. 2. See also above Chapter II, section E.
5. Muchai stone inscription of the year 81	<i>CII</i> , vol. II, pt. I, p. 30, pl. V, no. 2. See also above Chapter II, section E.

No. INSCRIPTIONS

PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

6. Peshawar Museum stone inscription of the year 168 CII, vol. II, pt. I, p. 79, and pl. XV, no. 1. See above Chapter II, section E.

7. Khalatse rock inscription of the year 187 referring to Uvima Kavphisa CII, vol. II, pt. I, p. 81; BSOAS, 1949-50, vol. XIII, pp. 396-397; G. Tucci, "Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey of Swat", *East and West*, 1958, vol. IX, p. 298, fig. 8. See also above Chapter II, section D.

8. Taxila silver vase inscription of Jihoṇika of the (Sa) Ka year 191 CII, vol. II, pt. I, p. 82 and pl. XVI; F. W. Thomas, "review", *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1971, p. 4; S. Konow "Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology", *Journal of Indian History*, 1933, vol. XII, p. 19. See above Chapter II, section B.

9. Dewai stone inscription of the year 200 and of V'ima (= V'ima Kadphises ?) CII, vol. II, pt. I, p. 106 and pl. XV, no. 3. See above Chapter II, section E and n. 97a.

No. INSCRIPTIONS

PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

10. Peshawar University museum stone inscription of the year 265 *Journal of Oriental Society of Australia*, 1970, vol. VII, p. 26. See above Chapter III, section D.
11. Dasht-e Nawūr rock inscription(s) of the year 279 (?)¹ *XXIXth International Congress of Orientalists, Abstracts of Papers*, p. 2.¹
12. Hastnagar stone pedestal inscription of the year 284 (or 384 ?) *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 117-119 and pl. XXII, no. 10; A. D. H. Bivar, "Hāritī and the Chronology of the Kushāṇas", *BSOAS*, 1970, vol. XXXIII, p. 17. See above Chapter III, section D.
13. Skāraḥ Dherī image inscription of the year 291 (or 399 ?) *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 124-127; N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, pt. II, *The Graeco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra*, Calcutta, 1937, p. 19, f.n.1; K. Walton Dobbins, "A Note on the Hāritī Image from Skāraḥ Dherī, year 399", *East and West*, 1967, vol. XVIII, p. 268 and fig. 2; *BSOAS*, 1970, vol. XXXIII, p. 18. See above Chapter III, section D and n. 110.

No. INSCRIPTIONS

PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

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| 14. Kula Dherī (Charsadda) casket inscription of the year 303 | N. G. Majumdar, "Inscriptions on Two Relic-Caskets from Charsadda", <i>EI</i> , vol. XXIV, p. 10, S. Konow, "Chārsadda Kharoshthī Inscription of the year 303", <i>Acta Orientalia</i> , 1948, vol. XX, pp. 107f. See above Chapter III, section D. |
| 15. Loriyān Tangai stone image-pedestal inscription of the year 318 | <i>CII</i> , vol. II, pt. I, p. 147 and pl. XXI, no. 1; <i>BSOAS</i> , 1970, vol. XXXIII, pl. I: See Chapter III, section D. |
| 16. Jamālgaṛhī stone inscription of the year 359 | <i>CII</i> , vol. II, pt. I, p. 113 and pl. XXII, no. 1. See above Chapter III, section D. |

NOTES

1. We are not sure whether the date of the Dasht-e-Nawūr document can be referred to the era of c. 170 B.C. For comments on this document, see Appendix II, n. 1.

APPENDIX II

BACTRIAN INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN THE OLD ŚAKA ERA

No. INSCRIPTIONS	PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY
1. Surkh-Kotal stone inscription of the year 275 (or 279)	R. Curiel, "Inscriptions de Surkh-Kotal", <i>Journal Asiatique</i> , 1954, vol. CCXLII, p. 193; A. Maricq, "Inscription de Surkh-Kotal (Baghlān), La Grande Inscription de Kaniška et L'Étéo-Tokharien, L'Ancienne Langue de la Bacteriane", <i>ibid.</i> , 1958, vol. CCXLVI, p. 416; A. D. H. Bivar, "The Kaniška Dating from Surkh-Kotal", <i>BSOAS</i> , 1966, vol. XXVI, p. 500; H. Humbach, <i>Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler</i> , Wiesbaden, 1967, pt. I, p. 100.
2. Dasht-e Nawūr rock inscription(s) of the year 279 (?) ¹	G. Fussman, "Les inscriptions du Dasht-e Nāwūr", <i>XXIXth International Congress of Orientalists, Abstracts of Papers</i> (Paris, 1973), p. 2.

No. INSCRIPTIONS

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3. Zang Tepe inscription of the year 341 (?) J. Harmatta, "The Bactrian Wall-inscriptions from Kara Tepe", *Buddijskie Pescery Kara-Tepe v Starom Ter-meze*, Moscow, 1969, p. 104.
- 4, 5 and 6. Kara Tepe graffiti (nos. 39, 54 and 55) of the year 405 *BPKTST*, pp. 109-110 and 112. See also above Chapter III, section D.
7. Kara Tepe graffito (no. 35) of the year 445 (or 405, or 430, or 435 or 440) V. A. Livshits, "K Otkriteu Baktreiskech Nadpesyei na Kara-Tepe", *BPKTST*, p. 80; *ibid.*, pp. 104-108; B. N. Mukherjee "The Epigraphic evidence from Kara Tepe and the So-called Old Śaka Era", *East and West*, 1971, vol. XXI, pp. 69f. See also above Chapter III, section A.
8. Zang Tepe inscription of the year 500 *BPKTST*, p. 104.
9. Kara Tepe graffito (no. 20) of the year 507 (or 397 or 97 ?) *BPKTST*, pp. 95-97. See also above Chapter III, section D.
10. Tuyuq epigraphic F. Altheim, *Aus Spätantike*

No. INSCRIPTIONS

PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

- record of the year 1000 (or 1 ?) *und Christentum*, Tübingen, 1951, pl. 9, l. 5; *BPKTST*, p. 104
11. Tochi Valley (Khanazana) stone inscription (Record B) of the year 1032 M. A. Shakur, *A Hand Book to the Inscriptions Gallery in the Peshawar Museum*, Peshawar, 1946, p. 109; A. H. Dani, H. Humbach and R. Göbl, "The Tochi Valley Inscriptions in the Peshawar Museum", *Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, p. 132; H. Humbach, *op. cit.*, pt. I, p. 110; pt. II, pl. 25; I. Gershevitch, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 1967-68, pp. 36f; K. W. Dobbins, "Eras of Gandhāra", *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 1970, vol. VII, p. 32. See also above Chapter III, section C.
12. Tochi Valley (Sher Talao) stone inscription of the year 1035 M. A. Shakur, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, no. 8; A. H. Dani *et al.* *op. cit.*, p. 133; H. Humbach *op. cit.*, pt. I, pp. 114-115; pt. II, pl. 26. See also above Chapter III, n. 84.
13. Tochi Valley (Sher *Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol.

No. INSCRIPTIONS

PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Talao) stone ins- I, p. 134; H. Humbach, *op.*
cription of the year *cit.*, pt. I, p. 117; pt. II, pl.
10(3)5 27. See also above Chapter
(nos. 12 and 13 are III, n. 84
inscribed on differ-
ent parts of one
slab of stone)

NOTES

1. Three inscriptions have been found engraved on a mountain at Dasht-e Nāwūr situated 100 KM south-west of Kabul in Afghanistan. One of them is written in the Bactrian language and the Greek script. An unknown language and a script probably having similarity with Kharoshthī, seem to have been used in the second inscription. The third inscription is written in an Indian (Prakrit) dialect and the Kharoshthī script (*XXIXth International Congress of Orientalists, Abstracts of Papers*, p. 2).

G. Fussman thinks that these three epigraphs seem to form one trilingual document. Unfortunately very little of the Bactrian record is legible, and the Kharoshthī inscription is almost entirely destroyed. Nevertheless, Fussman reads the year 279 and the name of V'ima in this document (*ibid.*).

G. Fussman has kindly informed me in a letter dated 13.9.73, that both the Bactrian and the Kharoshthī inscriptions at Dasht-e Nawūr are dated in the month of Gorpaios of the year 279. According to his reading, the name (p) *ao OoHMo* appears in the Bactrian record. The royal name in the Kharoshthī inscription is lost. But still the regal title of the king concerned is known from the expression *rajatirajasa*, which Fussman has been able to read in this epigraph. The same

scholar wants to identify Shao Ooemo with the Kushāṇa monarch V'ima Kadphises.

We do not know whether the fragmentary nature of the document allows us to establish that the king in question was alive in the year 279. His name may have appeared here in the context of an incident earlier than the date of the document. So, though one may be right in identifying the person in question with V'ima Kadphises, he cannot prove that the Kushāṇa monarch was ruling in the year 279.

This line of reasoning does not require us to believe that the inscriptions belong to a period earlier than the reign of Kanishka I, the successor of V'ima Kadphises.

If the year 279 itself is referred to the era of c. 170 B.C., the document may be dated to c. A.D. (279-c. 170 B.C.) 109.

G. Fussman, however, apparently believes that the Bactrian epigraph suggests that the ruler concerned, V'ima Kadphises, was reigning in the year 279 (*XXIXth International Congress of Orientalists, Abstracts of Papers*, p. 2; Fussman's letter to the author dated 13.9.73). The same scholar has further observed in his letter, referred to above, that "the date in the Bactrian inscription is written in Greek script and language, and is expressed exactly in the same manner as in the Parthian and Seleucid inscriptions. So I guess that the date is expressed in the Parthian era of 247 B.C."

These arguments tend to date the Bactrian and the Kharoshthī inscriptions to A.D. (279-247 B.C.=) 32 and indicate that V'ima Kadphises was already a ruler in that year. This inference is strikingly in conformity with our hypothesis that V'ima Kadphises became a co-ruler of his father Kujula Kadphises by the time of inscribing the Khalatse record of the year 187 (*ASSIPH*, p. 190). The year 187 has been referred to the era of c. 170 B.C. (Chapter II, section D). Hence V'ima was already a ruler or rather co-ruler of his father in c. A.D. (187-170 B.C.=) 17. Kujula Kadphises died sometime between June or July of A.D. 46 and c. A.D. 55 (*ibid.*, p. 187). Thereafter V'ima Kadphises became the sole (or senior) ruler or monarch of the Kushāṇa empire.

If V'ima was a ruler or co-ruler in the year 279 of the Dasht-e Nawūr document, it would indeed be difficult to attribute this date and also the year 187 of the Khalatse inscription to one and the same era. For this would require us to believe that V'ima was associated with the Kushāṇa administration for at least 92 years.

Such an improbable chronological position need not be faced by ascribing the years 187 and 279 to two different reckonings, the first to the era of c. 170 B.C. and the second to the era of 247 B.C.

The evidence of the Dasht-e Nawūr inscriptions, however, need not necessarily suggest that the Parthian era of 247 B.C. was regularly used in parts of the Kushāṇa empire in the first half of the 1st century A.D. The language and style of writing the date in the Bactrian document, as noted above, may suggest that its author or the person responsible for getting it inscribed on the rock came to the locality concerned from somewhere of the existing Parthian or the Arsacid empire, where dates in records were used to be written in *inter alia* Greek language and according to the Parthian system of counting dates (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1915, vol. XXXV, pp. 27, 30 and 34f; N. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, p. 140, f.n. 53). He might have used the era with which he was familiar. So even if Fussman is right in recognising in the date of the Dasht-e Nawūr document a reference to the Arsacid era, its evidence may be considered as an example of an isolated use of a reckoning in a locality far away from the area where it was used regularly. So no other Bactrian or Kharoshthī document, found in the north-western part of the Indo-Pak subcontinent and its borderlands, need, without any definite evidence, be referred to era of 247 B.C.

APPENDIX III

KHAROSHṬHĪ INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN THE AZES ERA

No.	INSCRIPTIONS	PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY
1.	Shahdaur boulder inscription of Śivarakshita and of Aya's year 30 (?) or 40 (?)	<i>CII</i> , vol. II, pt. I, p. 17 and pl. III. no. 2. See above Chapter II, section E.
2.	Maira well inscription(s) of the year 58	<i>CII</i> , vol. II, pt. I, p. 13 and pl. II, nos. A, B and C. See above Chapter II, section E.
3.	Jalalabad stone inscription of Tiravharna of the year 83 ¹	S. Konow, "Kabul Museum Stone Inscription of the Year 83", <i>Acta Orientalia</i> , 1938, vol. XVI, p. 240 and pl. IV; H. Humbach, "Die Inschrift des Kshatrapa Tiravharna", <i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i> , 1968, vol. XI, pp. 29f. See above Chapter II, section E.
4.	Kala Sang stone inscription of the year 100 (?)	<i>CII</i> , vol. II, pt. I, p. 54 and pl. XI, no. 1. See above Chapter II, section E.

No. INSCRIPTIONS

PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

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| 5. Mount Banj stone inscription of the year 102 | <i>CII</i> , vol. II, pt. I, p. 57 and pl. XI, no. 2. See above Chapter II, section E. |
| 6. Takth-i-Bāhī (?) stone inscription of the (regnal) year 26 of Guduvhara and of the year 103 | <i>CII</i> , vol. II, pt. I, p. 62 and pl. XII, no. 1. See above Chapter II, section A. |
| 7. Mārguz stone slab inscription of the year 103 (?) (or 117 ?) | <i>CII</i> , vol. II, pt. I, p. 66 and pl. XIII, no. 2. See above Chapter II, section E. |
| 8. Saddo rock inscription of the year 104 | S. Konow, "Saddo Rock Inscription of the Year 104", <i>EI</i> , vol. XXI, pp. 25-28 and pl. facing p. 28. See above Chapter II, section E. |
| 9. Pājā stone inscription of the year 111 | <i>CII</i> , vol. II, pt. I, p. 65 and pl. XIII, no. 1. See above Chapter II, section E. |
| 10. Kāldarra stone inscription of the year 113 | <i>CII</i> , vol. II, pt. I, p. 66 and pl. XIII, no. 2. See above Chapter II, section E. |

- | No. | INSCRIPTIONS | PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY |
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| 11. | Panjtār (or Salīm-
pur ?) stone ins-
cription of the year
122 | <i>CII</i> , vol. II, pt. I, p. 70 and
pl. XIII, no. 4. See above
Chapter II, section E. |
| 12. | Kālawān copper-
plate inscription of
the year 134 of
(the) Aja (Azes)
(Era) | S. Konow, "Kalawān Copper-
plate Inscription of the Year
134", <i>EI</i> vol. XXI, p. 259; J.
Marshall, <i>Taxila, An Illustra-
ted Account of Archaeologi-
cal Excavations Carried Out
at Taxila under the Orders of
the Government of India,
Between the Years 1913 and
1934</i> , Cambridge, 1951, vol. I,
p. 327; vol. III, pl. 80, no. a;
D. C. Sircar, <i>Select Inscrip-
tions Bearing on Indian His-
tory and Civilisation</i> , vol. I,
<i>From the Sixth Century B.C.
to the Sixth Century A.D.</i> ,
Calcutta, 1942, pp. 127-128,
f.n. 2. See above Chapter II,
section C. |
| 13. | Taxila Silver scroll
inscription of the | <i>CII</i> , vol. II, pt. I, p. 77 and
pl. XIV; J. Marshall, <i>op. cit.</i> , |

No. INSCRIPTIONS

PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

- year 136 of (the) Aya (Azes) (Era) vol. I, p. 256; S. Konow, "Notes on the Indo-Scythian Chronology," *Journal of Indian History*, 1933, vol. XII, pp. 2-4; S. Konow, "Notes on the 'Eras' in Indian Inscriptions", *Indian Antiqua* (A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented by his Friends and Pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel, C.I.E. on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of his Doctorate), Leyden, 1947, p. 194. See above Chapter II, section C.²

NOTES

1. Dr. K. W. Dobbins has informed me that the collection of the Peshawar University museum includes an unpublished Kharoshthī inscription dated in the year 85. Dobbins is inclined to date the epigraph palaeographically to the Kushāṇa age. This will attribute the year concerned to the Kanishka era. We have not studied this document either in original or from a photographic or other reproduction. Hence we are not sure whether the year concerned should be assigned to the Old Śaka Era, or the Azes Era, or the Kanishka Era.

2. A slab (measuring 10×11 cm) was found, broken in two parts in the ruins of the monument at Surkh-Kotal (Afghanistan). It appears from the reports on its discovery that the slab had been used as a building material (*Journal Asiatique*,

n. 1958, vol. CCXLVI, p. 417). Three lines of inscription appear on it. The letters, measuring $1' \times 1.4$ cm, are painted in black (*ibid.*, p. 417, no. 7; pl. IV).

The language and script used in this inscription are yet unidentified. The first two lines of this record are more or less of equal length. The third line is only one-third of each of the other two lines in length. As the viewers see it, this line covers only a portion of the right half of the slab. The line was obviously written from right to left. It seems certain that the script employed here was used to be written, like Kharoshthī, from right to left.

A few of the letters appearing in the inscription in question are surely Greek. For examples we can refer to *beta* in line no. 1, lunate *sigma* in line no. 2, *alpha* in line no. 3, etc.

The majority of the painted characters can be recognised as Kharoshthī letters, while some of them look like Sogdian letters. The inscription seems to have been written mainly in a sort of a reformed Kharoshthī script, or in a hybrid script originating from a mixture of Kharoshthī and Sogdian alphabets. This inference is in keeping with the fact that the script concerned was used to be written from the right to left.

The Greek letters may stand for numerals. But it is not sure whether any one or all of them conveys or convey date or dates.

We may add here that one of the three inscriptions at Dasht-e Nawūr is noted to have been written in an unknown language and in a script "derived from Kharoshthī" (*XXIXth International Congress of Orientalists, Abstracts of Papers*, p. 2). This script may be the same as that used in the Surkh-Kotal inscription discussed above (see above Appendix II, n. 1).

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. P. 78

n. 78 Add the following after "wrong." and before "The" in line no. 27.

It should also be recorded that in his monograph on *Śaka-Pahlava Coinage*, published after his article referred to above, K.W. Dobbins refers the year one of the reckoning in question to "171/170 B.C., plus or minus ten years" (K.W. Dobbins, *Śaka-Pahlava Coinage*, *Memoirs of the Numismatic Society of India*, no. 5, p. 139; see also p. 136).

2. P. 78

n. 87 Add the following after "records." in line no. 28.

(In this connection see also B. N. Mukherjee, "The Tochi Valley Inscriptions and the So-called Old Śaka Era", *Asiatic Society, Monthly Bulletin*, April, 1973, vol. II, no. 4, pp. 6-8).

3. P. 91

n. 12 Add the following after "(Śaka)." in line no. 25.

There is also no reason to support the attempts to read the last word in line no. 1 of the Jalalabad inscription of the year 83 as *pasaha* (?), and to trace in this word, which is followed by the term *vasha* (meaning "year") in line no. 2 a reference to the Old Śaka Era. (*Indo-Iranian Journal*, 1968, vol. XI, no. 1, p. 31). The word concerned should be read as *p(u)ya(ye)* (*ibid.*, pl. facing p. 30). The line no. 1, which can be deciphered as *Tiravharṇasa Kshatrapasa p(u)ya(ye)*, may mean "in honour of Kshatrapa Tiravharṇa" (see also H. Humbach, "Pūṣpapura=Pashawār?", *Münchener Studien Zur Sprachwissenschaft*, no. 23, 1968, p. 48).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

2001-2002

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIU	Majumdar, R. C. (editor), <i>The Age of Imperial Unity, The History and Culture of the Indian People</i> , vol. II, Bombay, 1957.
Annals	Tacitus, P. C., <i>Ab Excessu Divi Augusti</i> (Loeb Classical Library edition, 3 vols., London and New York, 1931-1937).
ASSIPH	Mukherjee, B. N., <i>An Agrippan Source — A Study in Indo-Parthian History</i> , Calcutta, 1969.
BKTKST	<i>Buddjiskie Kultovye Tzentr Kara-Tepe v Starom Termeze</i> , Moscow, 1972.
BPKTST	<i>Buddjiskie pešcery Kara-Tepe v Starom Termeze</i> , Moscow, 1969.
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> , London.
CCSK	Gardner, P., <i>A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India</i> , London, 1886.
CHI	Rapson, E. J. (editor), <i>The Cambridge History of India</i> , vol. I.— <i>Ancient India</i> , Cambridge, 1922.

- CHS* Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han-shu* (T'ung-wen shu-ch'ü edition).
- CII*, Konow, S., *Corpus Inscriptionum*
vol. II, pt. I. *Indicarum*, vol. II, pt. I,—*Kharosh-
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vol. II—*The Mauryas and the Sāta-
vāhanas*, 325 B.C.—A.D. 300, Calcutta,
1957.
- Coins of Parthia* Wroth, W., *A Catalogue of the
Greek Coins in the British Museum,
Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*,
London, 1903.
- EI* *Epigraphia Indica*, Calcutta and
Delhi.
- HHS* Fan Yeh, *Hou Han-shu* (Ssu-pu pie-
yao edition).
- IA* *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.
- India Antiqua* *India Antiqua, A Volume of Ori-
ental Studies Presented by his
Friends and Pupils to Jean Philippe
Vogl on the Occasion of the Fiftieth
Anniversary of his Doctorate*, Ley-
den, 1947.
- JASB* *The Journal of the Asiatic Society
of Bengal*, Calcutta.

- JIH* *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum.
- JNSI* *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, (Calcutta, Bombay and) Varanasi.
- JRAS* *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ireland and Great Britain*, London.
- NC* *The Numismatic Chronicle (and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society)*, London.
- PHAI* Raychaudhuri, H. C., *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition, Calcutta, 1950.
- PMC* Whitehead, R. B., *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I—*Indo-Greek Coins*, Oxford, 1914.
- SI* Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, vol. I—*From the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 1st edition, Calcutta, 1942; 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1965.
- Tahqīq-i-Hind* Al-Bīrūnī, *Kitābo-Abir Rayhān Moḥammad bin Ahmed-al-Bīrūnī Fi Tahqīq-i-Ma lil-Hind Min Maqulatīn Maqbulatin Fil-Aql-i-au-Marzu-*

lātin (edited by Sachau, E., London, 1887).

Taxila

Marshall, J., *Taxila, An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried Out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India, Between the Years 1913 and 1934*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1951.

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Lohuizen—De Leeuw, J. E. Van, *The "Scythian" Period, An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India From the 1st Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D.*, Leiden, 1949.

TP

T'oung Pao, Leiden.

ZDMG

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig and Wiesbaden.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

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| PLATE II, Figure 2 | — Surkh-Kotal inscription of the year 275 (or 279). |
| PLATE III, Figure 3 | — Tochi record no. A. (years 24(2) A.H. and (39) 32). |
| PLATE IV, Figure 4 | — Tochi record no. B. (years (39) 38 and 1032). |
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CORRIGENDA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>In place of</i>	<i>Read</i>
23	3	it	It
23	8	An <i>askos</i>	An <i>askos</i> shaped silver vase
23	18	can be considered	can be taken
31	3	started	started by
31	25	used two eras	used at least two eras
38	28	while relating events of A.D. 35,	while relating events of A.D. 35.
40	5	Takht-i-Bāhī	Takht-i-Bāhī
45	36	Mora well epigraph	Maira well epigraph
47	24	J. Hermatta	J. Harmatta
49	27	superinscribed	inscribed
50	16	superinscribed	inscribed
58	20	tithi	<i>tithi</i>
58	29	agency	Agency
64	25	Kula Dheri	Kula Dherī
68	5	<i>hupso</i> ββοβο	<i>νιρσο</i> χβοβο
79	15	named	name
80	35	whirl-pool-like	whirlpool-like
82	17	do not by them- selves deny	do not, by them- selves, deny
84	11-12	Ponemos	Panemos
87	4	Chief Chi-chu	Chief, Chi-chu
88	14	Nadsa	Nandsa
92	18	used and helped to popularise the era	used, and helped to popularise, the era

PLATES

Handwritten inscription in a cursive script, likely from a cave. The text is written on a light-colored background and appears to be a single line of writing.

Fig. 1 - Kara Tepe. Inscription no. 35 from cave no. 11 (after BPKTST).

FIGURE 1

PLATE II

FIGURE 2

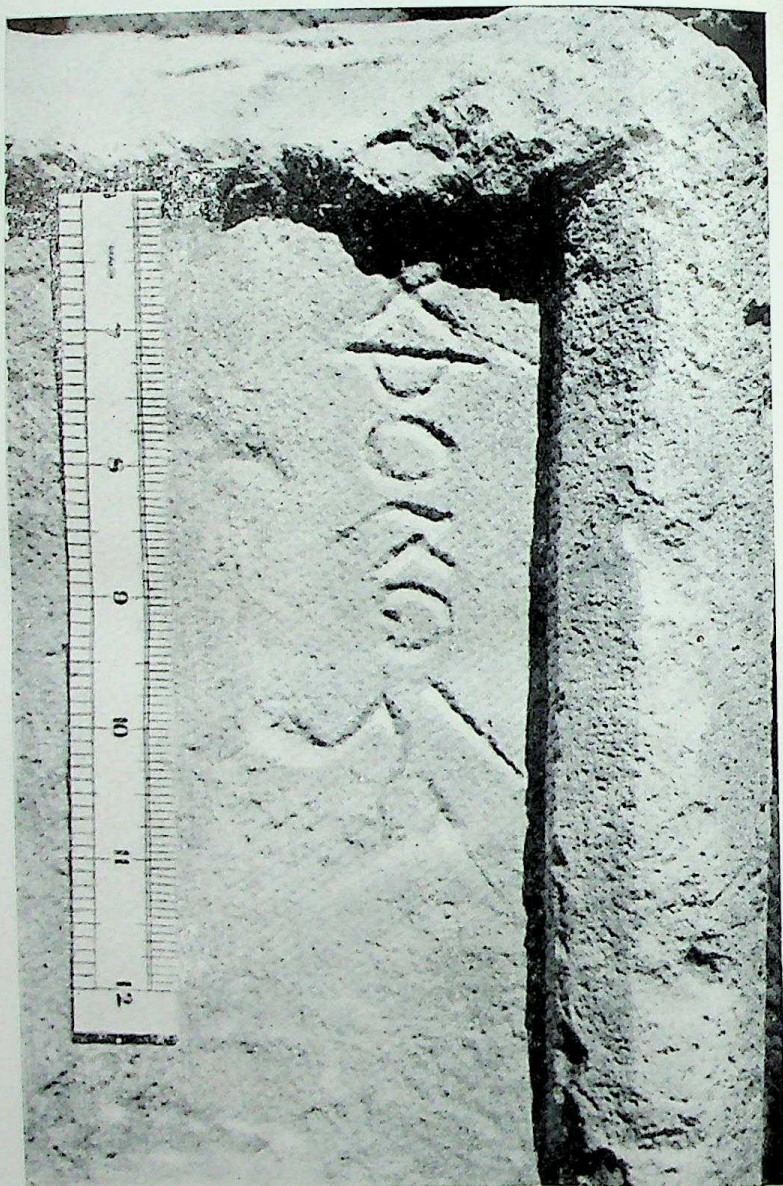




FIGURE 3

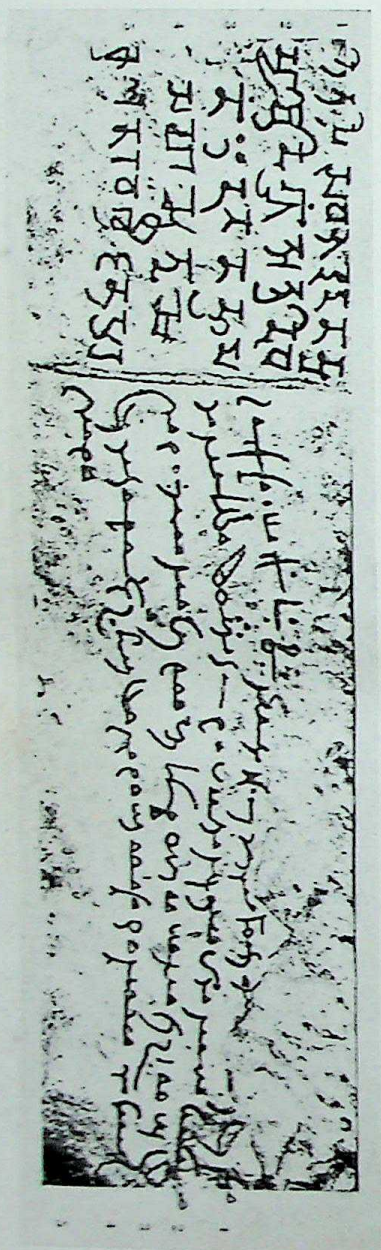


FIGURE 4



FIGURE 5

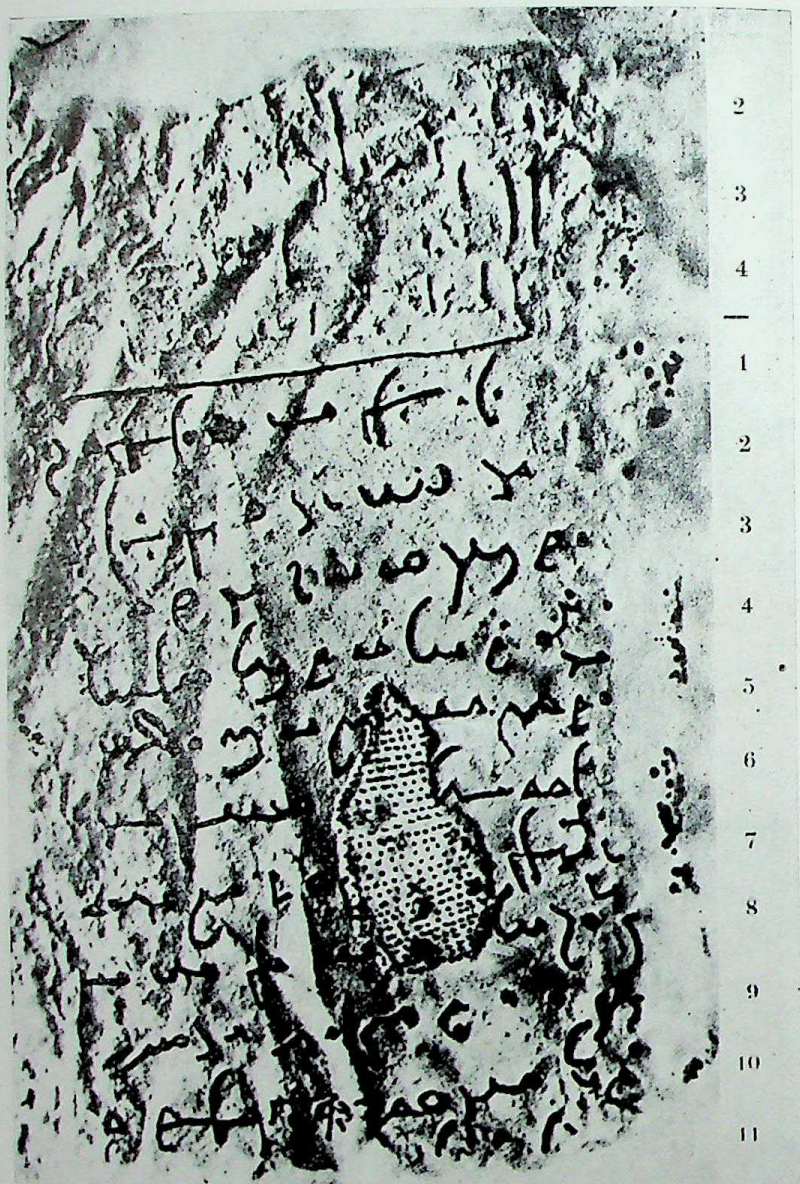


FIGURE 6

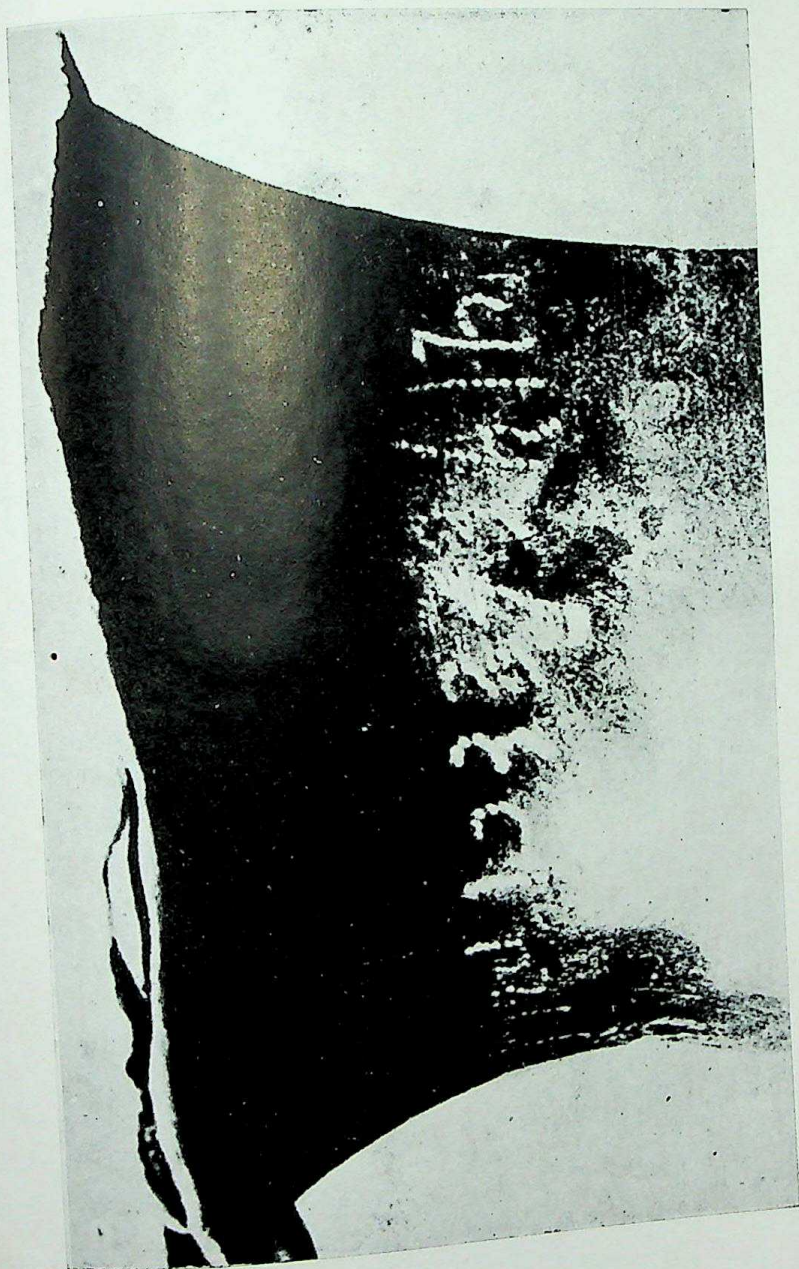


FIGURE 7

